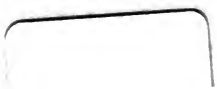


**PUBLICATIONS OF
THE MISSISSIPPI
HISTORICAL
SOCIETY:
CENTENARY...**





PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
MISSISSIPPI HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

VOLUME IV



COLONEL THOMAS HINDS.

PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
MISSISSIPPI HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

EDITED BY
DUNBAR ROWLAND, LL.D.

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VOLUME IV



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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

This volume contains as its main monograph, "The Mississippi Territory in the War of 1812," accompanied by a complete roster of the soldiers of the young Territory which, only fourteen years before, had been released from Spanish rule. These heroic pioneers should not be forgotten. The subject has been treated heretofore in the most perfunctory manner. As a stirring chapter in the military history of the State of Mississippi it deserves even greater space than has been devoted to it. The descendants of the Mississippi soldiers in the War of 1812 who bore themselves with so much national spirit in defense of the country during this further struggle for American Independence, are among our best citizens of today—a fact that gives the narrative a strong appeal.

During the formative period of 1812-1815 David Holmes was Governor of the Mississippi Territory. A character sketch of the life of this eminent man by his nephew, Judge D. H. Conrad, written for J. F. H. Claiborne in 1859, which has never been published is interesting supplementary reading to the paper, "Mississippi Territory in the War of 1812." An informing chapter in the educational history of the State is given by a leading actor in the establishment of the Mississippi State College for Women.

The march of De Soto through Mississippi is a subject of the liveliest interest. His route through Lowndes County is carefully studied in a paper which makes an interesting contribution to this volume.

Some of the most tragic and inspiring incidents of the military history of America occurred in the sunset days of the war for Southern Independence, and every Confederate soldier who served during these days has a story to tell that is worthy of preservation. A chapter concerning some of these events is one of the offerings made to this volume.

DUNBAR ROWLAND.

Mississippi Historical Society,
The Capitol, Jackson, Mississippi,
June 15, 1921.

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MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY

IN THE

WAR OF 1812

BY

MRS. DUNBAR ROWLAND

PREFACE.

In this short history I endeavor to give a truthful account of the part played by the Mississippi Territory and its soldiery in the Campaign against the British and the Creek Nation during the War of 1812. Many historians fail to surround the war in this part of the Republic with its actual environment and the reader gets no more than a hazy idea of its locality. Excepting the defense of New Orleans the scenes of action lay principally in the Mississippi Territory. Without clear knowledge of this fact the reader cannot place the local color and fails to grasp the relative significance of events in the development of the states of the lower South.

While I write with the express purpose of emphasizing the activities of the troops of the Mississippi Territory and of drawing attention to many erroneous statements and omissions concerning them, yet it is my welcome task to record the brilliant exploits and valor of all troops who took part under General Andrew Jackson in the campaign against the Creeks and British.

In the story of the coast campaign against Great Britain and her allies the strong spirit of American nationality prevailing in the far southern section during this period is insistent and compelling. In view of the weak defense maintained in this region, had this spirit been less active the war in all probability would have been as lacking in valor here as it was in the North.

The documentary and printed sources to which I have had access, many of which have been collected by the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, are as follows:

- Original Letters and Correspondence of Gen. F. L. Claiborne, 1813-14.*
- Letter-books and Journals of Gov. David Holmes, 1809-20.*
- Miscellaneous Mississippi Territorial Archives, 1813-15.*
- Correspondence of Judge Harry Toulmin, 1813-15.*
- Original Letter-books of Gov. W. C. C. Claiborne, 1801-16.*
- Newspaper Files, Washington Republican, 1813-15.*
- Original Letters of Gen. Andrew Jackson, 1813-15.*
- Historical Memoir, by Major A. L. Latour.*
- The History of Alabama, by Albert James Pickett.*
- Mississippi as a Province, Territory and State, by J. F. H. Claiborne.*
- The Creek War, by H. S. Halbert and T. H. Ball.*
- Life of Andrew Jackson, by John Spencer Bassett.*
- Life of Andrew Jackson, by James Parton.*
- Life of Andrew Jackson, by John Henry Eaton.*

History of Louisiana, by Alcée Fortier.
Colonial Mobile, by Peter J. Hamilton.
Military History of Mississippi, by Dunbar Rowland.
Encyclopedia of Mississippi History, by Dunbar Rowland.
History of Louisiana, by Charles Gayarré.
Harper's Encyclopedia of United States History.
Encyclopedia Britannica, Eleventh Edition.

In the preparation of the work I am indebted for valuable historical assistance to Dr. Dunbar Rowland, and for helpful criticism to Judge R. H. Thompson and Hon. J. R. Preston, officers of the Mississippi Historical Society. To these and to Mr. Hermes Knoblock for assistance in reading the proof and to Miss Kittie R. Sanderson and Miss Maria Shelton, who have been faithful and efficient in copying the manuscript, I am deeply grateful.

MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY IN THE WAR OF 1812

The publication by the Mississippi Historical Society of the roster of Mississippi soldiers who participated in the Southern Coast Campaign of the War of 1812 furnishes the writer an opportunity to publish with it a short history of the part taken by the troops of the Mississippi Territory in the second struggle for American Independence. In this lively and momentous episode during the last hostilities between the United States and Great Britain a number of distinguished sons of the Mississippi Territory, along with several thousand brave troops mustered within its borders, bore a conspicuous part. The most prominent figures in this period of the Territory's history were Governor David Holmes, General Ferdinand L. Claiborne and Major Thomas Hinds, whose patriotism and valor were as pronounced and ardent as that of any of the leaders of the American Revolution.

The campaign in the South closed with the Battle of New Orleans, January 8, 1815, and whether unfortunate and unnecessary as some historians think this last conflict between the newly established Republic and the mother country may have been, it certainly divested the latter of any desire to renew hostilities, or to set up pretexts by which England might construe the terms of the Treaty of Ghent to her own advantage.

"The battle," says a contributor to the *International Encyclopedia*, "though fought after the Treaty of Ghent was signed, was full of results of the utmost importance to the young Republic." The historian Shouler has, also, observed that it was "the only battle of the war that made any impression on the European mind." It is admitted by able historians that the war in other sections had been, to a large extent, without renown and that this successful climax not only strengthened Madison's administration but weakened the Federalist party beyond hope of recovery. It cannot be disputed that the spirit exhibited by the Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky and Louisiana troops in the southern conflict aroused and quickened

the national conscience throughout the new Republic which was, at least during the war, at a low ebb in the New England States.

The operations of the War of 1812 in the lower South were conducted by troops from Tennessee, Mississippi, Kentucky and Louisiana. As an historical setting it might be well in tracing the record of the troops of the Mississippi Territory to note that General Jackson began his aggressive campaign against the British within the confines of that Territory, Mobile having been included in the annexation of 1812. The soldiery throughout this region, whether formerly Tory or patriot, had by this time become thoroughly attached to the American government.

Throughout the administrations of Winthrop Sargent and W. C. C. Claiborne, the first governors of the Territory, and from the time of Aaron Burr's expedition, to the period when Governor Holmes directed the destinies of the new Territory, its military organization had been a matter of pride, and had, during Governor Holmes' administration, become a reliable and efficient defense. Statistics in the military archives of the State of Mississippi show that from its large territorial militia detachments could at any time be drawn for prompt service in the United States Army.

The older population of the Mississippi Territory was planted during the colonial period in the Natchez District near the towns of Natchez, Port Gibson, Woodville, Old Greenville, Liberty, Washington and other smaller communities, all of which were surrounded by wealthy slave-holders who represented a social life in many respects as advanced as any in the Republic. The large slave and landholders were amassing immense fortunes which attracted the attention of the outside world. Their private libraries were filled with the classics and literary clubs were the order of the day. Many of the most aristocratic families were Federalists, but later the principles of the Whig party were imbibed by a considerable number of this class. However, the political doctrines taught by Thomas Jefferson, Calhoun, and Jackson, and still later by Jefferson Davis, were destined to enthrone democracy permanently in this section. But here at the very dawn of the nineteenth century democracy, nationalism and patriotism were making their appearance and being intensified each day.



The seat of war in the campaign against the Creeks and British during the War of 1812

The eagerness of the militia to defend their country's claims and the initiative, courage and ardor displayed in the face of danger were no more due to the austerity of pioneer life, which equipped men constantly for the roughest experiences of war, than to the fact that the older Southern States had contributed a goodly share of their best blood to the population that was taking root in the Gulf region, infusing into it constantly the fervid patriotism that had characterized the Continental Army. France and Spain, too, on their several leave-takings, had contributed fragments of the illustrious soldiery of Louis XIV and Charles X to their far western empire. In this way can be explained the presence of the high-bred type which flowered in many communities of the lower South during the first decades of the nineteenth century.

In the person of General Ferdinand L. Claiborne, who appears so conspicuously in this narrative we recognize the same type that prevailed in Virginia and the Carolinas. From the *Encyclopedia of Mississippi History* have been taken the following biographical data which briefly outline his early career:

Claiborne was a native of Sussex County, Virginia, brother of William Charles Cole Claiborne, second governor of the Mississippi Territory. His military service began February 23, 1793, when he was appointed ensign in the First Sub-legion under General Anthony Wayne. He joined the army in Ohio, was promoted to lieutenant in June, 1794, took part in the famous battle on Maumee River, was assigned to the First regiment in 1796 and promoted to captain, October, 1799. He was stationed in the recruiting service in Richmond and Norfolk after the close of the war in the Northwest and subsequently returning to that region served as acting adjutant-general of the army. January 1, 1802, he resigned and removed to Natchez, where he became a merchant and married a daughter of Colonel Anthony Hutchins. He was elected to the general assembly in 1804. After the close of his brother's administration he was appointed colonel of the militia regiment of Adams County to succeed Osmun and was selected to command the detachment that marched to the support of General Wilkinson for the Sabine campaign in 1806. In the fall of 1807 Governor Williams revoked his commissions as magistrate and colonel on account of troubles between them. Governor Holmes asked the President to commission him brigadier-general of the militia of the Territory; the Legislature joined in the request in 1809 and he was so commissioned in 1811, his appointment being proclaimed by the governor, September 28. He had charge of the organization of the Mississippi militia regiment for the United States service in 1812 and served as colonel of the same, September 6, 1812, to February 23, 1813, at Baton Rouge. March 1, 1813, he was commissioned brigadier-general of volunteers in the United States service, and in that rank continued at Baton Rouge organizing a brigade of Mississippi and Louisiana volunteers until ordered to Fort Stoddard¹ where he arrived July 30, 1813, to guard the frontier against the Creeks.

¹ Sometimes spelled Stoddert.

With the tide that flowed from the older American colonies to the Natchez District—a name that had clung to the region from early colonial days—came another adventuring youth, young Thomas Hinds, from Berkeley County, Virginia. He came upon the scene about the time the country was designated by Congress as the Mississippi Territory in honor of the great river in whose embrace it lay many leagues to the north and south.

The new Territory had a number of small flourishing towns and, though Natchez, Vicksburg and Washington held higher rank historically, none other was of more importance than the county seat of Jefferson County, "Old Greenville," named for Henry Green, a colonial settler from Virginia. It was to this place that young Hinds came when but a youth of nineteen. As early as 1798 the place, through which the old Natchez Trail ran, had contained a popular tavern, and on American occupation soon became a thriving village. Many distinguished men in the early history of the State spent a portion of their time here, among them Joseph E. Davis, brother of Jefferson Davis, George Poindexter, Christopher Rankin and Edward Turner. Here, also, lived for a time General Andrew Jackson, who was afterwards to become the military hero of the South.²

Greenville was destined to remain a memorable spot in the life of General Jackson since it was near the town that he was married to

²In a summary of the early life of General Jackson many facts of which are gathered from Spark's *Memories of Fifty Years*, the *Encyclopedia of Mississippi History* states: "Andrew Jackson was one of those rare creations of nature which appear at long intervals to astonish and delight mankind. His early life was very obscure and he himself was uncertain of his birthplace though he believed it was in South Carolina. . . . His mother, was 'a little dumpy, red-headed Irish woman.' When Andy left home to go to Tennessee she told him, 'Never tell a lie, nor take what is not your own, nor sue anybody for slander or assault and battery. Always settle them cases yourself.' . . . Jackson was a restless and enterprising man. . . . In business he was cautious. He was a remarkable judge of human character and rarely gave his confidence to untried men. Notwithstanding the impetuosity of his nature upon occasions he could be as cool and as calculating as a Yankee. . . . He was in the habit of trading with the low country, that is, with the inhabitants of Mississippi and Louisiana. Jackson had a store at Bruinsburgh near the mouth of bayou Pierre in the Mississippi Territory in Claiborne County. At this store, which stood immediately upon the bank of the Mississippi, there was a race track for quarter races (a sport Jackson was very fond of) and many an anecdote was rife in the neighborhood of the skill of the old hero in pitting a cock or turning a quarterhorse."

Mrs. Rachel Donelson Robards,³ an amiable and attractive lady for whom he had formed a deep and sincere attachment while in Nashville, Tennessee. This ripened into a devotion that brought about their marriage. The marriage took place at the residence of Mr. Thomas Marston Green at whose home Mrs. Robards had often been a guest. She owned a plantation near that of Mr. Green but it is not strange that she preferred the home of her warm and cultured friends for the important event of her marriage. The happy union which lasted until Mrs. Jackson's untimely death at "The Hermitage" a short while before General Jackson's inauguration as President of the United States was the subject of numerous tender references by Parton in his *Life of General Jackson*.

The ties of friendship between the Green and Jackson families were strengthened by several intermarriages, the representatives forming a part of a social circle that observed the customs and reflected the amenities of a well-ordered society. In these homes were to be found books and all the refinements of civilization, the owners dispensing a hospitality second only to that found in the older colonial states.

But "Old Greenville" was not without its frontier element, and among the many stories that still survive of the place none is more thrilling nor was better calculated to stir the blood of the inhabitants than the one that describes a party of rough riders coming into court one morning bringing the head of Samuel Mason, the noted outlaw. And here tradition disputes the records as to the identity of the head; the reward, however, was paid for it and the country breathed more freely at the thought of its burial place across the river. As an offset to the tales of murder and rapine that crept into the early courts of the old town was the presence of Protestant churches and schools whose influence was strongly felt in the life of the

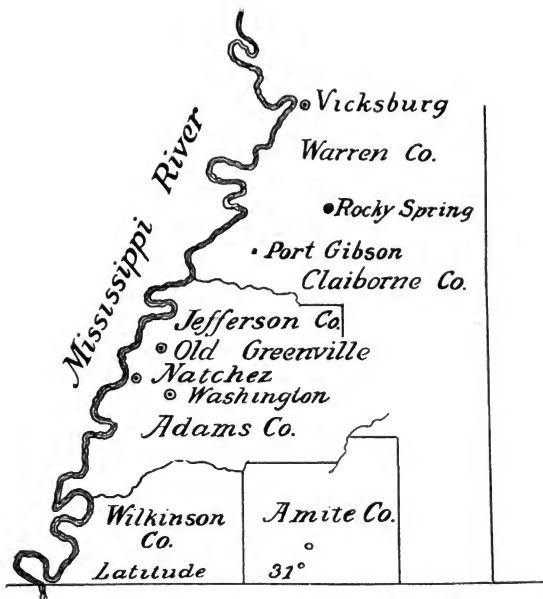
³ Mrs. Andrew Jackson was Rachel Donelson, the only daughter of Colonel John Donelson, a pioneer settler of Sullivan County, Tennessee. He had removed from Virginia with his family in the year 1779 to Sullivan County near Long Island, at present Kingsport. The Donelsons were among the most prominent people in the early history of this county. Colonel John Donelson, the father of Rachel, was influential in negotiating Indian treaties, having been associated with General Joseph Martin and Colonel Isaac Shelby in shaping the treaty at Long Island July 9, 1783. Many daring exploits are narrated of him in his expedition to the Cumberland Settlements. Two of the brothers of Thomas Marston Green married nieces of Mrs. Jackson. The Green family, distinguished in Virginia, came to the Mississippi Territory when it was a colonial possession of Spain.

people, engendering a deep piety markedly noticeable in succeeding generations.

Here, too, sprang into existence the famous Jefferson Troop of Horse, a military organization composed of the flower of the community in whose blood still coursed a strain of the cavaliers of King Charles. It was into this environment that young Hinds of Virginia had cast his lot, and like all youth he was influenced and molded by the life around him.

The call to military life was very strong in many localities throughout the confederation of States at that period; everywhere young men were anxious for military preferment and it was not long before Thomas Hinds became first lieutenant of the Jefferson Troop of Horse. He is described as a youth of prepossessing appearance, with dark, flashing eyes, slender, graceful figure and good address, coupled with a certain mastery of speech and confidence of manner that arose not only from temperament but from his having been acquainted with the best social customs of an older civilization. He soon became very popular in the new community, and the fact that after only a few years residence in the place he won the heart and hand of the daughter of Thomas M. Green⁴ is proof of his having become a social favorite. In addition he was what was termed one of the "rising" young men of the new Territory. In 1806 he was happily married to Miss Malinda Green. His marriage strengthened the already warm attachment between himself and General Jackson, with whom he was in after years to come in close contact in some of the most thrilling episodes of the history of the State and of the country. His connection with this influential family also opened up many opportunities for position in the civil service, and he was not without a due appreciation of such honors. A few years after his marriage he was made a member of the General Council and in 1811 was appointed Chief Justice of the Orphans' Court. His association with Andrew Jackson during his early years at "Old Greenville" had influenced him deeply, and it was not long before his young wife and her family discovered that he was enamoured of Jackson's profession, that of soldiering, to the exclusion of all others. He continued captain of the Jefferson Troop until promoted to higher honors on the field of battle.

⁴ The descendants of Thomas Marston Green still reside in their ancestral home at Church Hill in Jefferson County.



Early map of the western portion of the Mississippi Territory showing the river counties and towns.

It was now that the Mississippi Territory was to have a share in the national struggle for complete independence of English control and interference. The Mississippians began the struggle at their own doors. The British, through the great Shawnee chieftain Tecumseh, incited the Creeks to make war upon neighboring Americans, and thus began what is known as the Creek Indian War, recognized by historians as one of the most most moving chapters of the War of 1812. As a goad and spur to the Coast Campaign under Jackson against the British it was of the utmost importance.

It was not with Jackson, however, but with General Claiborne, commander of the Territorial Army of Mississippi, that young Thomas Hinds saw his first military service—with his cavalry at Natchitoches and later in opposing the advance of Aaron Burr into the Territory. Connected by marriage with the Claibornes both the General and his brother, W. C. C. Claiborne, had watched with keen interest the career of the young soldier. After Mississippi had given the latter to Louisiana as its first American governor he continued to follow with enthusiasm the career of the Mississippi cavalryman through the War of 1812 which ended in the South with the battle of New Orleans as a brilliant climax.

Leading up then to hostilities on the Southern Coast, the Creek Indians waged a bitter and blood-thirsty war against the Mississippi Territory. Especially were they unrelenting after they discovered that it was a war for self-preservation and the possession of their native lands. Their various feats of daring and self-sacrifice in behalf of their homes and country compare favorably with the qualities that characterized the white combatants opposing them. Cruelty to their victims, however, including even women and children, places them in the lowest scale of civilization.

The history of the Creek War not only gives a part of the story of the war in the South but also reveals the strength and position of the military organizations of the Mississippi Territory when its troops were needed for further service along the Coast. Historians have treated very slovenly the part taken by the Territory in Jackson's Coast Campaign against the British, Parton in his *Life of Andrew Jackson* being so inexcusably inaccurate as to confuse General Ferdinand L. Claiborne with Governor W. C. C. Claiborne of Louisiana. From his pages one would suppose that the headquarters of the

military operations of the Creek War and of the entire Coast Campaign was in New Orleans. Though Governor Claiborne was keenly alive to the situation the facts are, that, up to the time that New Orleans became the object of attack, the Mississippi Territory was, with the exception of the expedition in forcing the British out of Pensacola, the scene of action, and it was on Governor Holmes that the weight of responsibility fell more heavily than it did on any governor in the lower South.

It was thoroughly recognized by the people of the American Republic that at the inception of hostilities between their nation and Great Britain in 1812 it was the latter's policy to attach to its standards the various Indian tribes throughout the country extending into the far Southwest.⁶ Among the Creek branch of the great Muscogee tribe of Indians which was the most potential in the Southern section of the country the United States agent of Indian affairs, Colonel Benjamin Hawkins, had kept peace in a tolerable fashion at least for many years, but while he was very popular with the Creeks, personally, they were rebellious and defiant at times in their attitude toward the white settlers of the country. Every concession granted in the way of transportation privileges, especially the great wagon route—though consented to—through the midst of their country, rendered them more dissatisfied each day. The constant stream of emigrants passing through their lands daily over the old Federal road out into the inviting hills and vales of the Mississippi Territory that reached from the Mississippi River on the west to the Alabama streams that watered the western borders of Florida, alarmed and filled them with apprehension as to their future. The fate of the Natchez to the west of them, too, seemed to forecast a day when the pale face would over-run and take possession of their country.

The English welcomed the growing dissatisfaction of the Creeks, recognizing in them a useful ally, and lost no opportunity of warning them through various emissaries of the danger that would arise from the growing population that made up the Tombigbee, Alabama

⁶In *The British Campaigns at Washington and New Orleans* by Subaltern the author says: "It is well known that at the period to which my narrative refers an alliance offensive and defensive subsisted between the government of Great Britain and the heads of as many Indian nations or tribes as felt the aggressions of the settlers upon their ancient territories and were disposed to resent them."

and Tensas settlements of the Mississippi Territory. In the person of the famous Tecumseh,⁶ a savage of most unusual type, they had found an ally who needed no urging. Born about 1775 in the Miami Valley in the ancient abode of his tribe, whither his parents had returned after a sojourn among their kindred in the beautiful Tallapoosa country, he was a pure product of his race at its best. Endowed by nature with manly instincts and possessing the noble virtues of patriotism, love of race and country, and the recipient of the gentler Moravian theology, he was, notwithstanding, a savage still. Always an ally of the British, it was with the hope, one can easily believe, of using that power to assist him in his larger and more worthy purpose of regaining the ancient possessions of his race that he labored so enthusiastically. His scheme of uniting all the western tribes in a great Confederacy bore no fruit, but was ever in his heart and colored his thoughts in death.

The Choctaw branch of the Muscogees, which had for its most dominant ruler the celebrated medal chieftain Pushmataha was known to be friendly to the Americans and was more dependable than

⁶ The name Tecumseh is thought by some students to mean "meteor," by others "flying panther." It was sometimes spelled Tecumtha. The *Encyclopedia Britannica* gives the following short biography of the famous chieftain: American Shawnee chief, was probably born in the old Shawnee village of Piqua, near the site of Springfield, Ohio, between 1768 and 1780. While still a youth he took part in attacks on settlers passing down the Ohio and in widely extended hunting expeditions or predatory forays to the west and south; and he served in the Indian wars preceding the Treaty of Greenville in 1795. About 1800 his eloquence and self-control made him a leader in conferences between the Indians and whites. After 1805 the Indians of the North-West became aroused by a series of treaties calling for new cessions of their territory and by the prospect of war between Great Britain and the United States. This presented to Tecumseh and his brother Tenskwatawa (i. e., the Open Door), popularly called "the Prophet," the opportunity to put into operation a scheme which followed the ambitious dream of Pontiac. With some scattered Shawnee clans as a nucleus, the brothers proceeded to organize, first near Greenville, Ohio, and later on the White and Tippecanoe Rivers in Indiana, "the Prophet's town," which was based on a sort of communism and was apparently devoted to peace, industry and sobriety, but their actual plan was to combine all of the Indians from Canada to Florida in a great democratic confederacy to resist the encroachment of the whites. Tribal organizations were to be disregarded, but all warriors were to be represented at periodical assemblages where matters of interest to all Indians were to be definitely decided. The twofold influence that was to dominate this league was the eloquence and political ingenuity of Tecumseh and the superstitious reverence aroused by "the Prophet." This programme alarmed the whites along the north-western border. In the course of the next three years Governor William Henry Harrison of Indiana held interviews with each of the brothers, and during one of these, at Vincennes in 1810, the respective leaders narrowly avoided a hostile encounter.

the Chickasaws, who had more than once, since their fierce and victorious encounters with Bienville, shown a tendency at times to repel the advances of the Europeans. Between these tribes, however, there was a bond of sympathy; they spoke the same language and were often allies in war, while neither regarded the Creek with admiration nor confidence and lived in continual fear of his fierce wrath. The Chickasaws, influenced by the growing friendship for the white race so perceptible on the part of the Choctaws, and the powerful Colbert family of half-breeds in their own midst, remained at peace with the Mississippi Territory.

It was the impetuous and warlike Creeks boasting a Confederacy of their own, an alliance that dated back for many years and having for its burning purpose self-protection and perpetuation as a race, who were now to make war for their rights and liberties as they took them to be. Alas! that unfair methods should have attended a noble purpose!

The Spanish⁷ in possession of Pensacola through the victory of Don Bernardo de Galvez were for the time in sympathy with the British

Nevertheless "the Prophet" and Tecumseh reiterated their determination to remain at peace with the United States if the Indians were unmolested in their territory, and if all cessions beyond the Ohio were given up by the whites. The treaty of Fort Wayne in 1809, which called for the cession to the whites of some three million acres of land in central Indiana, was a direct challenge to this programme, and when, during Tecumseh's absence in the South, Harrison made a hostile move against "the Prophet's" town, the latter ventured to meet him, but was defeated on the 17th of November, 1811, in the famous battle of Tippecanoe, which broke the personal influence of "the Prophet" and largely destroyed the confederacy built up by Tecumseh. Tecumseh still professed to be friendly toward the United States, probably because his British advisers were not ready to open hostilities, but a series of border outrages indicated that the fatal moment could not long be postponed. When in June, 1812, war broke out Tecumseh joined the British, was commissioned a brigadier-general in the British army, and participated in the skirmishes which preceded General William Hull's surrender at Detroit. He took an active part in the sieges of Fort Meigs, where he displayed his usual clemency toward his prisoners. After the battle of Put-in-Bay, when Colonel Henry Proctor began to retreat from Malden, Tecumseh bitterly reproached him for his cowardice and finally forced him to join battle with Harrison on the Thames River on the 5th of October, 1813. In this battle Tecumseh was killed, as traditionally reported, by Colonel Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky, although this has never been fully substantiated. Like Pontiac, whom he doubtless imitated consciously, he had a wonderful eloquence and a power of organization rare among the Indians. His brother, "the Prophet," remained with a small band of Shawnees and died west of the Mississippi in 1834."

⁷ The rumor that a Spanish naval force was with the British fleet proved to be false, yet from every indication it is clear that but for internal troubles Ferdinand VII would have materially aided the British in their invasion of the Southern Coast of the American Republic.

and were continually seeking to arouse the martial spirit of the Creeks, urging them to make war on the white settlers along the Tombigbee in the Mississippi Territory. These did their full share in strengthening the new Creek Confederacy. The eagerness of the people of Georgia, too, to see the compact entered into between that State and the United States in 1802 to extinguish the Indian title to certain lands was not lost on the Indians and this with other grievances cited had caused a restlessness and dissatisfaction among them that readily deepened into a fixed resentment under the spell of Tecumseh's fiery and eloquent appeals. Much magnetism and learning have been ascribed to this celebrated chieftain as an orator. Not only was he physically a splendid specimen of his race, but historians also agree that he was "masterful in manner, eloquent in speech and learned in the lore of treaties."

While the warriors of many tribes to the north were already in possession of his plans, Tecumseh, who had recently visited the tribes west of the Mississippi and on Lakes Superior, Huron and Erie, inciting them to hostilities against the whites by appeals both of religion and of personal gain, came south in the summer of 1811 with a view of attaching the southern tribes to the "Prophet's" army. His task, though a delicate one of much diplomacy and intrigue, was not in vain. Alexander McGillivray,⁸ the noted half-breed, sometimes styled the "Emperor of the Creeks," in whose veins ran the blood of the best races of Europe, might have proved a match for Tecumseh in advising against the war, but the mighty barterer and tradesman and what could be considered a diplomat and scholar among savages was dead, and there was none other strong enough to effect peace.

One obstacle loomed high in the pathway of the ardent Tecumseh—the powerful Choctaws were still in open sympathy with the Americans and no Confederacy formed in the South would be safe or lead to victory without their aid. At the intertribal councils neither the prophets' incantations nor the inducement of personal gain could

⁸Alexander McGillivray, perhaps the most remarkable half-breed Indian of America, was the son of Lachlan McGillivray who came from Scotland when a youth of sixteen, tradition says from a titled home. He came first to the Carolinas and joined the Indian traders in 1735. Later he met the beautiful young Princess Sehoi in the Creek Nation and was married to her about 1738. Princess Sehoi was the daughter of Captain Marchand, a French officer who at one time commanded Fort Toulouse on the Coosa River. The mother of Sehoi was a Creek of the "Clan of the Wind."

affect the imperturbable Pushmataha and his loyal assistants, Moshulitubee and Houma Mingo. To all appeals there was but one answer, that "never in their history had a Choctaw shed the blood of a white man in war." The attitude of the Choctaws meant much to the American cause and while for the first months there was occasional alarm, amounting at one time to a panic, in the main security throughout the war was felt even along the borders of the Mississippi Territory. The following interesting account of Tecumseh's visit to the Creek Nation, which the author places in the autumn of 1812, is taken from Harper's *Encyclopedia of United States History*:

He addressed the assembled Creeks for the first time in the lower part of what is now Autauga County, Alabama, late in October. Soon afterwards, having addressed the Creeks at different points, he approached a great council called by Colonel Hawkins, United States Indian agent, at Toockabatcha, the ancient Creek capital, where fully 5000 of the nation were gathered. Tecumseh marched with dignity into the square with his train of thirty followers, entirely naked, excepting their flaps and ornaments, their faces painted black, their heads adorned with eagle's feathers, while buffalo tails dragged behind, suspended by bands around their waists. Like appendages were attached to their arms, and their whole appearance was as hideous as possible, and their bearing uncommonly pompous and ceremonious. They marched round and round in the square, and then, approaching the Creek chiefs, gave them the Indian salutation of a handshake at arm's-length and exchanged tobacco in token of friendship. So they made their appearance each day until Hawkins departed.

That night a council was held in the great round-house. It was packed with eager listeners. Tecumseh made a fiery and vengeful speech, exhorting the Creeks to abandon the customs of the pale-face and return to those of their fathers: to cast away the plough and loom and cease the cultivation of the soil, for it was an unworthy pursuit for noble hunters and warriors. He warned them that the Americans were seeking to exterminate them and possess their country; and told them that their friends, the British, had sent him from the Great Lakes to invite them to the war-path. The wily Prophet, who had been told by the British when a comet would appear, told the excited multitude that they would see the arm of Tecumseh, like pale fire, stretched out in the vault of heaven at a certain time, and thus they would know by that sign when to begin the war. The people looked upon him with awe, for the fame of Tecumseh and the Prophet had preceded them. Tecumseh continued his mission with success, but found opponents here and there. Among the most conspicuous of them was Tustinuggee-Thluccho, the "Big Warrior." Tecumseh tried every art to convert him to his purpose. At length he said, angrily: "Tustinuggee-Thluccho, your blood is white. You have taken my Red-sticks and my talk, but you do not mean to fight. I know the reason; you do not believe the Great Spirit has sent me. You shall believe it. I will leave directly and go straight to Detroit. When I get there, I will stamp my foot upon the ground and shake down every house in Toockabatcha."

Strangely enough, at about the time Tecumseh must have arrived in Detroit, there was heard a deep rumbling underground all over the Alabama region, and there was a heaving of the earth that made the houses of Toockabatcha reel and totter as if about to fall. The startled savages ran out, exclaiming: "Tecumseh is at Detroit! Tecumseh is at Detroit! We feel the stamp of his foot!" It was the shock of an earthquake that was felt all over the Gulf region in December, 1812. At the same time the comet—the blazing arm of Tecumseh—appeared in

the sky. These events made a powerful impression on nearly the whole Creek nation, but it did not move the "Big Warrior" from his allegiance to the United States.

Though bitterly disappointed in his failure to attach the Choctaws and the Peace Party of the Creek Nation to his cause, the untiring Tecumseh, tall, dignified and graceful, arrayed in royal robes and flaunting his regal head-dress with its significant red plume, continued in the Creek country and pursued his aims, accomplishing in a large degree his purpose just as he had done at Vincennes on the Wabash and in the Detroit country. Each day the war spirit of this fierce Muscogee tribe grew until it finally yielded to the advocate's subtle spell who, in sowing the seeds of war along the Tallapoosa with the hope of benefiting his own race, was willing enough for some of the harvest of the Red Flower to go to his English friends.

Allowing that it was the sudden flaming up of patriotic fires half a century old, it was British gold, also, that now played a part in kindling strife between the American and Indian, and the Creek whose ancestors' ferocity had struck terror to many a frontier hearthstone proved that he still needed no military training in the various diabolical forms of savage warfare.

It is thought by some historians, viz.: Lossing, Drake and Parton, that Tecumseh paid a second visit to the Gulf tribes at which time he had with him his brother, the "Prophet." Many conflicting statements of local authorities and students have furnished material for investigators and historians concerning this visit south and, while a number of authors agree on some points, none seem able to determine with any degree of certainty how often he came among the Creek Indians. Halbert, one of the latest and best interpreters of Indian life among the southern tribes, leans, I think erroneously, to Beckwith's opinion that he came only once, in 1811. Ramsey, Pickett and Moore have taken the position that he paid a second visit. J. F. H. Claiborne, too, is an ardent supporter not only of a second visit but of an express purpose on the part of Tecumseh to enlist them for the British, even to the extreme point of resenting any other opinion of the matter, attributing the tardiness of the militia of the Mississippi Territory in attacking the Indians as a part of the British forces to the attitude taken by Colonel Benjamin Hawkins, agent of

Indian affairs.⁹ However, this author was destined in later years to become a subject for much satire by the painstaking if prosaic investigator, Halbert, who not only found in the accomplished historian's "rich flowers of speech" a source of amusement, but becomes downright impatient with many of his statements especially doubting his translation of Tecumseh's speech and even going so far as to say that it not only rested on no authority but did not reflect credit on the famous Indian orator and statesman. But giving Halbert due credit for having studied his subject minutely, one cannot forget that Pickett agreed with J. F. H. Claiborne in his estimate of Colonel Hawkins' attitude. Still, it must be admitted that the Alabama historian generally used with great care and caution his original record sources, nearly all of which were furnished him by Claiborne.

The object of Tecumseh's visit is a more important matter and it is logical to believe that since the Indians were federating everywhere in the north and joining the "Prophet's" army with a view of aiding the British this was the counsel, if not the dictation, of the able Tecumseh to the southern tribes, especially to the Creeks, who were more sympathetic with his scheme and purpose than any other of the Muscogee family.

In vain, then, did Colonel Hawkins strive to keep the peace between the Mississippi Territory and the Creek Indians; but even in the lower country where his influence was stronger with them than in the upper portion he failed, nor did he hesitate to lay on the whites the major part of the blame for the sudden participation in the war.

The Creek country, including the upper and lower divisions, reached from the Oconee River in Georgia to the Alabama River. It was an attractive well-watered region and with a population of 10,000 had established fifty-two towns. It was well supplied with warriors familiar with the use of firearms and *en masse* highly skilled in all native methods of warfare. The people of the Territory, especially those of the Tombigbee, Mobile and Alabama settlements, were never wholly at ease in the thought of having them as such close neighbors.

Here it would be well to give the reader some specific knowledge

⁹ Benjamin Hawkins was born in Bute County, North Carolina (which was changed to Warren County in 1779), on August 15, 1754, and died at his residence in the Creek Nation, in the exercise of his functions as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, on June 6, 1816. For an extended sketch of Colonel Hawkins see Wheeler's *History of North Carolina*, pp. 426-432.

of the military situation in the Mississippi Territory during the year 1812. The following summary from the *Encyclopedia of Mississippi History*, with such editing as is necessary, will give the reader an insight into affairs in the Territory from a local standpoint.

Governor David Holmes, at the town of Washington,¹⁰ then the seat of government of the Mississippi Territory which included what is now Alabama as well as the present state of Mississippi, received on Sunday, June 20, 1812, letters from the Tombigbee region assuring him that part of the Creek Nation of Indians was determined on war. These letters were from Colonel James Caller, Colonel Joseph Carson and Major John McGrew, officers of the Territorial militia. They were dated June 14, and had come to the Governor by express, the horseman charged to travel with the greatest possible speed. The route lay through the Choctaw Nation whose attitude in case of war was then open to doubt. This doubt, however, was later dispelled by the attitude of their leading chieftain, Pushmataha.

Governor Holmes had, also, to consider at this time the organization of the Spanish coast country between the Pearl River and Perdido, annexed to his territory by Act of Congress, also the revolution in and about San Antonio in which some Mississippians were actors, and above all the danger of war with Great Britain. He had, before the addition of the Mobile strip, a military organization representing thirteen regiments of militia. In the Tombigbee-Alabama settlements, threatened by the Creeks, Colonel James Caller was the commanding officer of militia. At Fort Stoddard in the same region there was a detachment of United States troops under Major John Bowyer, and Cantonment Washington was the headquarters of Colonel Leonard Covington whose advice the Governor immediately asked.¹¹ The action taken by Holmes and Covington, which began the participation of Mississippi in the war of 1812, was to request Major Bowyer to send out a full company of regulars to an advanced point on the frontier. Another dispatch to Colonel Caller instructed him to send a party of mounted militia with

¹⁰ Natchez was the first capital of the Mississippi Territory. During W. C. C. Claiborne's administration the capital was moved by act of the Legislature, February 1, 1802, to the little town of Washington, six miles east, where it remained until 1820.

¹¹ Covington, Leonard, native of Maryland; entered the United States army in 1792, in the light dragoons; was promoted rapidly to lieutenant and captain; had a horse shot under him at Fort Recovery, Ohio, and was distinguished for gallantry at the battle of the Maumee, 1794. Resigning in 1795, he returned to Maryland, and was elected to congress from the St. George district. He returned to the service when there was danger of war with England in 1809, as colonel of light dragoons, and was for a time stationed in Mississippi Territory, where Governor Holmes called him in consultation at the beginning of the Creek war. He was promoted to brigadier-general August 1, 1813, and called to the Canadian frontier, where he participated in the unfortunate campaign of General Wilkinson, and was mortally wounded in the battle of Chrysler's field, November 11, 1813, dying three days later. He was riding a white charger, cheering his men to attack the British intrenchments, when he fell. At that time his wife and six children were making their home with Alexander Covington near the town of Washington, where they continued to reside. Levin, a son of General Covington, became judge of probate of Adams County; a daughter married the well known geologist and author, B. L. C. Wallis. Alexander Covington, a brother of the general, was a native of Prince George's, Virginia, resided in Mississippi forty years, was a man of great intelligence and social powers, served as county judge many years, and died at Warren City, October 16, 1848, aged 71 years.

the regulars, also to detail from the 6th, 8th, 9th and 12th regiments of militia, one major, six captains, six lieutenants, six ensigns, 360 privates, with the competent number of noncommissioned officers "to be held in readiness to march at the shortest notice." This detachment was intended to unite and act with the regular troops in case the Indians should enter the country in considerable force with hostile intentions. The militia were generally unarmed. Colonel Caller was directed to obtain 200 stands of arms from Major Bowyer. The rendezvous of the militia was to be at Fort St. Stephens. It does not appear, however, that this battalion as a whole was called into the field at this period. The Creeks were yet under the control of the peace party; the murderers of white settlers had been punished and quiet restored for a year on that frontier.

The express from James Monroe, Secretary of State, announcing the declaration of war with Great Britain, was addressed to Governor Holmes on June 19, 1812, and received by the Governor by way of Cantonment St. Tammany, July 11, 1812.

On July 14 the Governor issued his general orders announcing the declaration of war and as commander-in-chief making such disposition of the militia of the Territory as he deemed best calculated to protect the citizens thereof and to maintain order and make war upon the enemy with all the effect that the Territory's forces and ability would permit. The confidence with which he relied on the spirit of nationalism among the Mississippi militia is apparent throughout his orders and messages. That portion of his communication to the legislature on November 3, dealing directly with the war, is quoted here in full:

The weighty and important duties that have devolved upon the executive branch of our local government in consequence of the eventful and momentous crisis that has occurred in the national concerns of our country, render the meeting of the legislature at this time peculiarly gratifying to me and highly interesting to your constituents.

The people of the United States from their situation, from the nature of their political institutions which have solely in view the liberty and happiness of the citizens, and from the strictly neutral and impartial course pursued towards the belligerents of Europe by their government, might in justice have expected to remain undisturbed by the contending powers. But truth and justice are not the attributes of governments founded upon tyranny or supported by corruption. Pride, avarice, and an insatiable ambition ever prompt them to extend their baneful influence and effects, unrestrained by the rights of others, and regardless of the happiness of those they profess to protect.

No nation ever endeavored with more sincerity than the United States to avoid the war in which she is now engaged. The aggressions, insults and outrages upon our lawful commerce and rights of sovereignty, were borne with until longer forbearance would have constituted the crime of submission. No efforts on the part of our government could divert Great Britain from her determined purpose of attempting to crush American commerce, and if possible American independence. Propositions which could have been accepted by her without in the least degree wounding her national pride, but evidently calculated to promote her best interests, were rejected upon pretenses too palpably erroneous for any one to believe

that they were advanced with sincerity. Her disposition to depredate and insult seemed to increase with every effort on our part for amicable adjustment. The American government became sensible that the honor and rights of the nation demanded that expostulation, remonstrance, and all other measures short of actual war should cease, that the alternative of an honorable resistance or a base surrender of incontrovertible rights was placed before them. To have doubted as to the correct course under such convictions would have been dishonorable to themselves and disgraceful to their constituents. War, therefore, was resorted to as the only measure that could be taken to rescue the nation from abject degradation. This important change in our national affairs made it the duty of the Chief Executive of the Territory to take such measures for the defences of the country, and to aid in the war against the enemy, as his powers and the existing laws would authorize. Under this impression I issued an order on the 14th of July last directing a portion of the militia to be held in readiness for immediate service. At that time it was uncertain when this force would be required, but I considered that some preparatory measures were called for by the existing state of public affairs. On the sixth of September in pursuance of a requisition made by the authority of the general government, an additional number was directed to be selected for actual service, and the whole of the force detailed from the regiments west of Pearl River amounting to about seven hundred were ordered to rendezvous at Cantonment Washington. It is with much satisfaction, I assure you, Gentlemen, that on this occasion the militia of the Territory from every quarter evinced a degree of patriotism and determination to support the rights of their Country highly honorable to them as citizens and as soldiers.

In this spirit the first detachment of Mississippi militia in the service of the United States was placed in readiness.

In his orders the Governor called for details from militia regiments as follows: From the 1st Regiment (Amite County), one company; from the 2d Regiment (Wilkinson County), one company; from the 3d Regiment (Adams County), three companies, including the volunteer companies of Captains Becket and Painboeuff; from the 7th Regiment (Baldwin County), one company; from the 4th, 5th, 10th, 11th and 13th Regiments (Jefferson, Claiborne, Warren, Franklin, Marion Counties), each parts of a company. The previous orders to the 6th, 8th, 9th and 12th Regiments (Washington, Baldwin, Wayne and Greene) exempted those counties from this detail. In addition to these details the cavalry troops were to be in readiness to take the field whenever ordered.

Ferdinand L. Claiborne, recently appointed brigadier-general of militia, was entrusted with the execution of the order and General Wilkinson, in command of the United States Military Department, was asked to supply the necessary equipment. General Claiborne reported August 18, 1812: "It will be particularly gratifying to your excellency to be informed that the requisition has been filled principally by voluntary enrolment." The arms, ammunition and camp

equipment were delivered at Natchez landing by steamboat, September 19, 1812, and a little later in that month about 600 men were in camp at Cantonment Washington. A further detail of 300 was then called for. On November 3, the regiment began its march to Baton Rouge with General Claiborne in command with the rank of colonel. Captain A. H. Holmes, brother of the Governor, was inspector of the regiment during its organization. The period of service for this command, which was known as "the detachment of Mississippi militia in the service of the United States," was six months. The legislature that winter by resolution acknowledged and praised the response to the public call. When the term of service was near expiration the greater part of this command re-enlisted in the regiment to be mentioned later.

Another organization under the orders of the Governor in the year 1812 was a battalion in the Mobile region under Colonel Joseph Carson. At Natchez a volunteer company was formed by men legally exempt from military duty, which the Governor assigned to patrol duty.

Though to all appearances secure in the military defense of the State and even more in the long peace that had been maintained, the people of the Mississippi Territory, the pioneer settlements along the Tombigbee and Alabama especially, were not without some apprehension that trouble could be expected from the Creeks any day.¹² The "Prophet's" army, urged and assisted by the ardent Tecumseh, had for the past year been actively engaged in hostilities with many

¹² As far back as both French and Spanish possession sparse settlements had been established along these rivers. To this hiding-place Tories and loyalists came in great numbers and lived amicably with the wealthy and influential natives and half-breeds. No civil form of government existed among them; all taking their chance as thoughtlessly as the birds in a fanciful Elysium where neither priest nor king prescribed. With the coming of the Americans these settlements increased rapidly, and at the period of this history numbered about 2000 with as many slaves. The people in their manners and mode of life, though now governed by the laws of the Territory, were unlike those of the high-bred communities of the older counties near Natchez and along the Mississippi. The spirit of nationalism, however, was very strong among them, even the Tory by this time having become loyal to the young Republic. Border contact with the Indians had established in many instances close social relations between the two races and intermarriage occurred frequently, especially between prominent American settlers and the aristocratic descendants of Lachlan McGillivray, the later being thought eligible for any social distinction desired. "To this circle belonged," says Pickett, "the Taits, Weatherfords, Durants, the proud Linders and the Mims."

warriors in aiding the British, and by midsummer of 1813 war-clouds, too distinct to be mistaken, had gathered in the Southern country.¹³

Tecumseh had fallen in battle, but his counsel was treasured deep in the hearts of the Creeks, and with them war had become an obsession. The historian, Anderson, attributes the suddenness of its approach to the unfortunate execution of three Indians by the whites for the murder of a converted Indian boy. Other local incidents have, with a great deal of gravity, been made to appear as the sparks that started the flame, reminding one of the part that the question of slavery played in our Civil War, which, with compromise failing, was inevitable sooner or later in defense of Constitutional liberty.

¹³ The following letter from Judge Toulmin at Fort Stoddard to General F. L. Claiborne reflects the state of affairs among the Creeks during the month of July, 1813:

"You have done me the honour to request my opinion relative to the hostile disposition of the Creek Indians.

"My own apprehensions on this subject have grown out of transient circumstances as they have occurred, but are not founded on what would be deemed legal evidence.

"I may safely say that I am sufficiently satisfied—but as I would not express opinions which may influence on so important an occasion the conduct of others without bringing into view the grounds and reasons of those opinions—I will endeavour to trace back the impressions which have been made upon my own mind and will lay before you the result.

"1. I think it is about two months since Col. Hawkins informed me that he anticipated civil war among the Creeks—which was notoriously originating in a good degree in the vigorous measures taken by the heads of the nation to punish those of their tribe who had made war on the people of the United States.

"Where the cause of the white people was the primary source of domestic disturbance in the nation, it was reasonable to suppose that the interest and safety of white people would be materially involved in the progress and issue of those disturbances. Col. Hawkins accordingly soon after sent his family from the nation and has since removed himself.

"2. A few weeks after this Gen. Wilkinson was about to pass through the nation but found the prospect of disturbances so alarming that he halted for a guard. As soon as he had an opportunity, he made himself acquainted with the spirit prevailing in the Indian nation and satisfied that the hostilities were intended, he sent an express back to me with a letter on the subject—a copy or the substance of which I immediately did myself the honour to transmit to you, to Genl. Flournoy, to Govr. Holmes and to Col. Bowyer. This letter evinced his conviction that we were on the eve of an Indian war and that immediate measures of defense ought to be adopted.

"3. Mr. Saml. Manae, a half breed, well known to all persons conversant with the Creek nation, whose veracity I have never heard impeached and who has certainly as much at stake as any man in the country, assured me that he had had a conversation with High Head, one of the chiefs who has lately been at Pensacola and who was then on his way—in which High Head acknowledged to him that their object was to make war on the American people, that they had no animosity against the half-breeds, but wished to have them as partners in the general scheme, and that as to going to war with their own people they had no

Passing on from the first signs of hostilities between the whites and Indians, it is evident from much of the record sources of that period that there was in the spring of 1813 a definite war-party formed among the Creeks, and that their old Confederacy had been revived and strengthened. By July 25 the noted half-breed chieftain, William Weatherford, was an acknowledged member of the party. He was of the famous McGillivray clan and a sympathizer of the Creeks. His Indian name, though he was more often called "the Red Eagle," was Haponika Futsahia, which Woodward interprets as Truth Maker. It is said by partial biographers that he counselled against war and

idea of the kind but merely wished to put about eight chiefs out of the way, who had signalized themselves by their anxiety to preserve peace with the whites.

"4. The letter from the Choctaw chief, Mushshulatubbe to Mr. Geo. Gaines fully corresponds with the account given by Mr. Manae. He had sent messengers into the Creek nation who had clearly ascertained their hostile disposition towards the people of the United States and had seen them dancing the war-dance, a national ceremony preparatory to warlike operations. No suggestions existed that their hostilities were intended against other Indians. They avowed that they were to be against us:—and some few restless, misguided Choctaws had unhappily imbibed the spirit of the Muscogees.

"5. It is a fact concerning which, I believe, there is no doubt that some of the Creeks have participated in the northern warfare from the time of its commencement. They have committed murders on our peaceable citizens in their passage to and from the north. Some of them and particularly the Little Warrior have been put to death since their return. Their friends, their confederates and their relatives survive. These are the men who have organized the present confederacy and overthrown the legitimate government of the Creek nation. They are well known to the British and have been patronized by them. The Little Warrior was furnished with a letter from a British General to the Governor of Pensacola containing as *they* say a requisition for arms and ammunition, and as *he* says, merely an introduction and recommendation of them to his notice. On the strength of this, however, they applied for ammunition and have obtained it. Whilst in Pensacola, they avowed their intention of making war on the American people:—they danced the war-dance:—they told the Governor that 19 towns had joined them, and that in those towns there were 4800 men.

"6. A party of the Indians going to Pensacola attacked the post rider and robbed him of his mail. They shot at him and killed his horse. They carried the mail to Pensacola and said that they had killed the post rider. They refused to give it up, when the governor informed them that he would send it to Mobile.

"7. There is a general impression that hostilities are meditated against the United States. No one travels thro' the Creek Nation. All intercourse between this country and Georgia has ceased. The carrying of the mail is completely suspended.

"8. The general commotion through the Creek nation is a matter of notoriety. Their plantations are, in a great degree, neglected and uncultivated:—and the houses of all who resided near the road are abandoned. This state of things seems a prelude to war.

"I believe that all the circumstances which I have stated can be established on oath:—and under this belief—I submit it to you, Sir, whether I am not warranted in the opinion that war exists between a part of the Creek nation and the people of the United States."

for some time held aloof. Many other notable half-breeds, as in the instance of Moniac, refused to take the "black drink."¹⁴ The mixture nevertheless, was brewed and none, be he ever so far removed in blood, dared at the risk of his life to decline to partake of it.

War then on the part of the Creeks for the extermination of the Americans was fully determined on. The Alimbamos in the upper district especially were fierce in their attitude, these having been for some time bitterly resentful of the encroachments on their hunting grounds. The deposition of Samuel Moniac taken by Judge Harry Toulmin, though not considered seriously by some historians, on account of the half-breed's open disapproval of Tecumseh, indicates a well formed plan to attack from the Tensas to the Southern Coast.

The struggle among the Indians everywhere to regain their lost territory in North America was soon to begin in earnest in the South.¹⁵

¹⁴This drink was a kind of tea made of the leaves of the *Ilex Cassine* or holly of the Gulf States. After a visit to the country in 1777, William Bartram, in his description of the Creek rotunda, which was erected upon an artificial mound, gives an elaborate account of the ceremonies in the rotunda connected with partaking of the "black drink." He states that the chief first puffed a few whiffs from the sacred pipe, blowing the whiffs ceremoniously upward towards the sun, or, as it was generally supposed, to the Great Spirit, and then puffing the smoke from the pipe towards the four cardinal points. The pipe was then carried to different persons and smoked in a similar manner by them in turn, after which the drink was solemnly presented to each warrior present.

¹⁵The condition of affairs just prior to the encounter of Burnt Corn Spring is reflected in the following letter from Captain J. L. Kennedy, addressed from McIntosh Bluff, July 24, 1813, to General Claiborne:

"I arrived at this place on the 21st of this instant from *Mobile Point*, & the first time I have been absent one hour since I have entered the army, and found the whole country deserting their Homes on the account of the Indians—The *War Party* in the creek Nation have killed all the chiefs that were friendly to the U. States. Col. Hawkins has left the Nation and about two hundred and eighty men are now in Pensacola obtaining ammunition from the Spanish Government on an order from Canada. The whole of the Creek Nation is for war except those who have fled to us. They have robbed the mail which they have taken to Pensacola—we have sent men to Pensacola, and find that the Indians intend to attack the Tensas settlements on their return home. The inhabitants have called on me—but I have not the power to protect them. I have been to see Captain Dent and he has spared all the men he can from his command. I shall cross today with all the militia I can muster and the Volunteers to Tensas, where I shall form a junction with Caller and we intend to attack the Indians on their return from Pensacola. I would give the world for my Company, which is now at the *Point*. I have eighty the finest fellows you ever saw and now it is the time to make my fortune. Destruction and ruin awaits this country without you arrive in eight days, the inhabitants are without arms or ammunition—cant you leave your Baggage under a proper command and reach us with your Troops. We have sent to Col Bowyer at the Point but General Flournoy is still sick at the Bay of St. Lewie. I have sent Sergeant Byord with this together with Judge Toulmin's letters. My furlough is out the last of this month and I must then return and join my Company at *Mobile Point* a second time.

It seems a coincidence that they were allied with a nation that was, also, seeking to recover possession of some portion, at least, of a like territory, for it is quite evident that the British at this juncture were using the Creek Indians against the American Republic. A state of civil war existing between Tecumseh's followers and the peace party in the Nation to some extent retarded the preparation for hostilities, though it is certain that the "Dance of the Lakes" was in progress by the prophets, many of whom in their zeal meeting death at the hands of the unbelievers, as the peaceful Indians were styled.

The first definite act of armed warfare between the inhabitants of the Mississippi Territory and the Creek Nation was the battle of Burnt Corn on July 27, 1813. The Creeks, numbering about 300 picked warriors, had gathered in camp at the Holy Ground according to information given out by General James Wilkinson, who was soon to leave for his new post in Canada, General Flournoy taking his place as commander of the United States troops in the South. The party moved on from the camp towards Pensacola, whither they were going for a supply of arms and ammunition promised them by the Spanish and to come in touch with the British in the Southern seas. Planning at the Holy Ground, according to the testimony of Mrs. Ward, whom they had captured and held as a prisoner, to attack the white and half-breed settlements on the river, it is logical that they meant to use their ammunition on their return in carrying out their threatened purpose.

The Creeks were under the command of Peter McQueen, a noted war chief, Jim Boy, one of the most chivalrous, gallant and humane warriors of his tribe,¹⁶ and the despicable Prophet Joseph Francis, commanding in the order named: the Tallassees, Atossees and Alibamos, a proud Confederacy that had given themselves the name of "Red Sticks," a military organization that was to win the reputation of fighting men of great valor and steadfastness of purpose. It was a part of the old Confederacy that reached back past the day when eight mighty tribes made a treaty with Oglethorpe in 1732, doubtless brought about by the rough treatment of De Soto, who passed through

¹⁶ This Indian chief's name is sometimes given as High Headed Jim. By some he was thought to have been the little boy Sonata, befriended by the McGirths, a frontier family whom he helped to escape at Fort Mims. His devotion to Mrs. McGirth and her daughters and the humanity evinced in his treatment of the white prisoners laid him open to much suspicion on the part of the Red Sticks.

the Muscogee Nation in 1540. The Creeks to this day call the war in the Mississippi Territory in 1813 the "Red Sticks War" and have always been proud of the title. Their war clubs were painted red and they wore the significant red feather among the white plumes in their head-dress.

Before the initial battle fought between this strong nation and the Americans to settle their many differences is described, it is due the former to give here a short history of this branch of the famous Muscogee race. Occupying a region that reached from the Atlantic to the Tombigbee and Alabama, including portions of the States of Georgia and Alabama and all of Florida, the Seminoles there having been a kindred tribe, they had developed a civilization that held the forms and customs and was marked by many of the best characteristics of the most advanced tribes on the Western Hemisphere. However, it must be admitted that the Creeks exhibited a ferociousness that did not characterize the neighboring tribes—the Natchez, Choctaws and Cherokees, though no tribe existed that did not have this trait well enough developed and all in war resorted to the massacre.

This branch of the Muscogees was nicknamed "Creeks" by the Europeans on account of the many streams that flowed through their country. Referring to an older generation a writer says:

The men of the Creek Confederacy were well-proportioned, active and graceful; the women were smaller, exquisitely formed and some of them were very beautiful. In summer both sexes went without clothing excepting a drapery of Spanish moss that was fastened at the waist and fell to the thighs. The principal people painted their faces and bodies in fanciful colors and fops sometimes appeared in beautiful mantles of feathers or deer-skins and on their heads were lofty plumes of the eagle and the flamingo. The houses of the chiefs stood upon mounds sometimes in the form of a great pavilion and the inside of their winter dwellings were daubed with clay. Hunting, fishing and cultivating their fertile lands were their employment for they seldom made aggressive war. They were skilful artisans in making arms, houses, barges, canoes, and various kinds of ornaments. They made pottery for kitchen service and some of it was very ornamental. Fortifications were constructed with moats and walled towns and grand and beautiful temples abounded. They made mats of split cane with which they covered their houses and upon which they sat. These resembled the rush carpeting of the Moors. In their temples, dedicated to the worship of the sun, were votive offerings of pearls and rich furs. They regarded the sun as the superior deity and in all their invocations they appealed to it as to God. To it they made sacrifices of grain and animals. The chief, while living, was held in the greatest veneration as priest and king. As a symbol of devotion to him of the entire strength of the nation, the sacrifice of the first-born male child was required while the young mother was compelled to witness the slaughter of her child. Their marriages were attended with great displays of ornaments and flowers and at the setting of the sun the bride and groom and their friends prostrated themselves before that luminary and implored his blessing. Like

the Iroquois, the civil power in their government was widely distributed; and like the Iroquois the Creeks were an exception in their approach to civilization to all the Indian tribes of North America. Such were the Creeks or Muscogee Indians when first seen by Europeans.¹⁷

The English, in the main, had been the Creeks' choice of the Europeans, the English governors, Johnstone, Browne and Chester of Pensacola having kept the peace with them by the most extravagant use of presents such as blankets, rum and gew-gaws. During the Revolutionary War they were stanch allies of England and many Tories sought their towns in efforts to stir them up against the frontier settlements. A burning patriotism and love of country were chief characteristics of the race. In 1802 they began ceding their lands to the United States, their dissatisfaction increasing with every concession made to the white race. Though long kept in peace by the colonizing whites, their martial spirit was pronounced and just prior to their outburst with the people of the Mississippi Territory they had been engaged in a fierce civil war.

Colonel Benjamin Hawkins saw in the Creeks of his day many evidences of their former high state of civilization, though the historian Claiborne sets aside as very doubtful Hawkins' estimate and brings the Muscogee to this region at a later day from the northwest, affirming that a superior race had met De Soto. The Muscogees claimed that their race came out of the bosom of the Nanih Waiya and reverently regarded the great mound beside which they first dwelt as their mother.¹⁸ As the Muscogees were sun worshipers it is natural to believe that there was a day when this sacred mound was used as a temple for the worship of the sun by the various tribes, while there are many evidences that it was also used as a national center for tribal councils. But while all Muscogee tribes have regarded the Nanih Waiya (Ishki chito, the "Great Mother") as the place of their creation, another legend, as told by Peter Folsom, one

¹⁷ Bartram writing of Creek culture in 1777 says, "Some of their favorite songs and dances they have learned from the Choctaws, but it seems that these people are very eminent themselves for poetry and music; every town among them strives to excel each other in composing new songs, and by a custom among them they must have one new song for exhibition at every annual busk."

¹⁸ Nanih Waiya or Nuniah Waiya, the sacred mound of the Choctaws, is the most important of the prehistoric mounds in the State of Mississippi. It is located in Winston County on the west side of Nanih Waiya Creek near the Neshoba County line.

of their race, treats of their migration to the South from the far Northwest. Though the Choctaw and Creek branches of the great Muscogee race had now drifted far apart, hardly acknowledging their consanguinity, both protested that they would never leave their "Mother," the sacred Nanih Waiya, while the patriotic Creek showed that he was always ready to fight for the land of his nativity.

Returning to the story of the battle of Burnt Corn, the exposed condition of the pioneer settlements along the Tombigbee and Alabama Rivers deserves attention, for it was there that the militia and the volunteer troops of the Mississippi Territory bore the brunt of the war several months before General Andrew Jackson arrived on the scene.

Pickett in his description of the exposed eastern border, while he seems ignorant of the military strength of the Mississippi Territory and of the part taken by Governor Holmes in prosecuting the war, gives the reader a clear idea of the condition of the sparse settlements that, notwithstanding Colonel Hawkins' optimistic views, were really in danger of momentary attack from their fierce neighbors. These had been "taking the war-talk," brandishing their war-clubs and making their towns red for many days. A rumor had flashed through the white settlements, too, that they had publicly danced the ceremonial war-dance, the famous "Dance of the Lakes" taught them by Tecumseh, which meant immediate battle. Consequently the party of painted and armed warriors moving to Pensacola from the Holy Ground was easily taken for belligerents.

The troops that hastily gathered to intercept the war party were called out by Colonel James Caller, the senior militia officer on the frontier stationed in Washington County, now in Alabama. This force, composed of a handful of militia, was reinforced at Fort Glass by a company of volunteers under the famous border hero, Sam Dale, whose marvelous adventures in the Southwest rank with all such feats as "The Charge of the Light Brigade." Walter G. Creagh, another valiant frontiersman, was second in command. These were joined later by the celebrated half-breed, Captain Dixon Bailey, whose association, training and patriotism had allied him with his white kinsmen. The whole force numbered only one hundred and eighty men, many of whom were drawn from the struggling element of society who, though fond of the chase and rough and ready in a frontier bout or joust, were unused to actual war.

In no sense were they a match for the band of 300 picked and armed warriors sent on a deadly war mission. On their road to Pensacola the Creeks on July 27 reached the famous spring on Burnt Corn Creek, soon to become the scene of battle. The place is described with almost infinitesimal minuteness by the patient fact-gatherer, Halbert. On coming to the secluded spot, the Indians threw themselves from their smoking ponies and hurriedly formed a camp, where they rested and feasted with no thought of imminent danger. When the hastily gathered troops of Colonel Caller cautiously approached and, quietly dismounting, charged them, the idling party was taken completely by surprise. The Indians instantly flew to arms and returned the fire of their white assailants without a moment's hesitation. After an unsuccessful resistance, they fled in wild disorder into the cane-brakes and undergrowth fastnesses from which with sharp eyes they soon discovered the weakness of their foe, the number being less on account of the absence of many of Colonel Caller's men who were still pursuing the fleeing savages. The victors were busy looting the camp, appropriating their findings and carrying off the best horses when the wrathful Creeks secreted in the thickets of cane poured a volley of rifle balls into the party. Sweeping from their hiding places, they reassembled and gave open battle to the Americans, attacking them with guns, war-clubs and tomahawks with such sudden fury that consternation reigned supreme among the occupants of the camp.

So fierce was the onslaught of the infuriated Creeks that the raw militia could not reassemble their broken ranks though constantly urged by their Colonel to face the foe. Greed, too, had possessed some of them, and, though they dreaded the scalping knife of the brutal Creek, they hoped to get away with the horses and other loot, trusting to his poor marksmanship, which had never been an accomplishment of which he could boast when the rifle was the weapon in question. In vain their leader urged them to reform and give battle to the red-skins but only eighty men could be found willing to contend with the savage horde. These, commanded by Captains Dale, Bailey and Smoot, faced the enemy unflinchingly, giving blow for blow and for a time forcing them back, when the heroic Dale was struck in the left side by a rifle ball which lodged near the backbone. He continued to fight desperately until compelled to quit the field. The battle lasted about three hours, the Indians fighting with a fierce tenacity. When

the encounter was over the Americans had retreated, but not without carrying off many of the pack-horses, probably not concerning themselves about the fighting, since war had not been openly declared, and, notwithstanding the Creeks' reputation for cruelty, the hardy pioneer thought little of him as a soldier.

It is generally conceded by historians—and the writer admits it, that the Indians worsted the frontier militia and the volunteer forces at the battle of Burnt Corn. The victory, whatever there was of victory, belonged to the Creek warriors. But when one takes into consideration the long peace that had existed between the white people and the Indians and the growing contempt on the part of the former for the latter as a rival of any sort, also the fact that the Indians were now ready in spirit for war, having secretly determined on it for many months, it is not surprising that the hurriedly mustered forces of Colonel Caller were unprepared for serious fighting. Certainly in later engagements with the foe no act of recreancy has been recorded, but to the contrary a spirit of reckless daring that partook more of hazard and adventure marked the career of the frontier soldier dwelling remote from the older communities of the Mississippi Territory. Like all such spots in America these frontier river settlements were breeding places of romantic and chivalrous adventure.

Participants in the Burnt Corn engagement reappear in later fierce combats where we find Dale, Bailey, Smoot, May, Armstrong, Baldwin, Lewis, Glass, Henry, Hollinger, Bullard, and Bradberry conspicuous for courage of the highest order. These, with many other better trained but not more chivalrous troops, from the older population of the Territory near Natchez, fought heroically for American freedom and make up the famous roster of the Mississippi soldiers in the War of 1812 presented with this narrative. Though late, it is well that their names and deeds be recorded in history. As one historian has said in substance, the vanquishers of the Pequots, King Philip, Pontiac and the Narragansetts have been crowned with laurels; but of the soldiery of the Mississippi Territory, who conquered the fierce Creek Nation, little or nothing has been said.

The Creek War, one of the fiercest and most extensive ever engaged in by the Indians of North America, took place wholly within the confines of the new Territory. Its people bore the brunt of it, suffering the tragedy of the burnt home, murdered wife and child, and the

dangers of the battlefield; yet to Jackson's Tennessee troops—valiant and invincible, it is gladly admitted—partial historians have given the honor of the victory.

A close study of this and some other periods of American history causes the thought to arise that the bold effrontery with which the average American historian knowingly tampers with truth is enough sometimes to make one doubtful of the integrity of our civilization.

Throughout the Creek War Mississippi troops mainly were engaged in the conflict; and since the 1st Regiment of Mississippi Infantry, United States Volunteers, made so vital a part of the army gathered to quell the Creek uprising, its formation and officers will here be given from the *Encyclopedia of Mississippi History*, whose statements are based on original records:

This regiment was organized at Baton Rouge, beginning in January, 1813, with the re-enlisting members of the Mississippi regiment mentioned, as a nucleus, recruited by volunteers from the Territory. Cowles Mead¹⁹ was first commissioned as Colonel and Joseph Carson as Major but Mead soon resigned and Carson was made Colonel and Daniel Beasley, General Claiborne's aide, was appointed Major. Lieut. W. R. DeLoach was Adjutant; Lieut B. F. Salvage, Quartermaster; William R. Cox, Surgeon's Mate. The companies were commanded by Captains Philip A. Engle, Archilaus. Wells, Randall Jones, William Jack, William C. Mead, Benjamin Dent, Hutton Middleton, Abram M. Scott, James Foster, L. V. Foelckil, C. G. Johnson, and Hans Morrison. The First Lieutenants were James Bailey, Richard Bowman, A. L. Osborn, William Morgan, J. D. Rodgers, W. R. DeLoach, Theron Kellogg, A. Montgomery, John Camp, Alexander Calvit, John Allen, Robert Layson and Benjamin F. Salvage. Second Lieutenants, Kean Caldwell, Charles Moore, Charles Baron, W. M. Osborn, N. Lockridge, R. C. Anderson, George Dougherty, Robert Swan, James Luckett, George H. Gibbs, Robert Burton and D. M. Callihan. Ensigns, Stephen Mays, Y. R. McDonald, Benjamin Blanton, Benjamin Stowell, William S. Britt, Isaac W. Davis, Robert Davis, Charles West, Samuel Guest and Richard Smith (Register of the Army, 1813). A morning report dated at Liberty, July 18th, lists the Captains as Jack, Engle, Jones, Mead, Painboeuff, Dent, Scott, Middleton, Johnson, Foster, Brandon, and Morrison with an aggregate present and absent of 402.

This regiment and a Louisiana regiment,²⁰ organized at the same time and place, formed a brigade which General Ferdinand L. Claiborne of Natchez was assigned to command, he, as has already been stated, being commissioned Brigadier-General of Volunteers in the United States service in March, 1813. On his staff were Captain Joseph P. Kennedy, Brigade Major; Lieutenant Alexander Calvit, Aide; and Dr. John Kerr, Surgeon.²¹

¹⁹ Mead resigned to make a canvas for Territorial delegate to Congress, an action which resulted in his defeat for that office.

²⁰ The history of the service of the Louisiana Regiment is so meager that it is impossible to tell whether it served as a whole or not during the Creek war. Some Louisiana volunteers however were with General Claiborne in the war zone. To these he refers in terms of warm praise.

²¹ The same, probably, who became surgeon-general of Jackson's army during the defense of New Orleans. The family was prominent in the Mississippi Territory, David Ker (sometimes spelled Kerr and pronounced Car), having been Judge of the Territorial Supreme Court in 1802.

The latter part of July, Brigadier-General Ferdinand Leigh Claiborne, commanding at Baton Rouge, was ordered by General Flournoy to take the whole army hastily to Fort Stoddart to defend the country in event of trouble, not only between the Mississippi Territory and the Indians, but on the southern coast between the Republic and Great Britain with Spain for an ally of the latter.

Claiborne reached Mount Vernon on July 30, having patriotically mortgaged his lands to supply the soldiers with additional comforts. With the same high heart and *amor patriae* which had won him, when a youth of twenty, a lieutenantancy in Wayne's great army on the far Northwest frontier, he was still serving the American government.

On the eastern frontier he found the inhabitants very much alarmed over the Indian invasion—a topic discussed everywhere. Many of the people had deserted their homes and were occupying rough, hastily built block-houses all over Clarke County and in the forks of the Tombigbee and Alabama Rivers. After making a distribution of his troops as best to defend the frontier, he began the construction of Fort Madison, dispatching Colonel Carson with 200 troops to the fork, where wandering bands were reported to be daily committing depredations. Colonel Scott was sent to Old Fort St. Stephens with headquarters in a block-house built by the French and afterwards held by the Spaniards. The companies of Captains Jack and Middleton were sent to garrison a stockade east of the Alabama River, called Fort Mims, a fort that was soon to become the scene of one of the most tragic events of the war.

Although Colonel Joseph Carson with the 1st Regiment of Mississippi Infantry, United States Volunteers, was now in the river country and General Ferdinand L. Claiborne had been inspecting the forts, the encounter of Burnt Corn between the Creeks and the frontier soldiery of the Mississippi Territory for a time filled the settlers everywhere in the Tombigbee, Tensas, Alabama and Mobile regions with grave concern, causing them to keep more closely within the stockades.²² Though many of the families of the detached settle-

²²A summary of the stockades, and forts, according to Halbert and Ball (a number already standing and others erected to provide for hostilities with the Creek Indians), are as follows:

1. "Fort St. Stephens, established by the French, probably about 1714, held afterwards by the Spaniards, who made there a settlement about 1786, given up by the Spaniards to the Americans in 1790, has been already mentioned. So far as the Creek Indians were concerned, this was considered an impregnable fortress. As this locality, the old St. Stephens, will be again more fully men-

tioned, it needs no further notice here, only the statement that it was on the west bank of the Tombigbee, on a high bluff, at the head of sloop navigation.

"2. Fort Stoddart, as established by United States troops in July, 1799, has also been named, with its stockade and bastion. As this was for some years a government post, held by the United States troops, and became a port of entry where the Court of Admiralty was held, it was of course a strong point. In 1804 Captain Schuyler of New York was commander here, with eighty men, Edmund P. Gaines was Lieutenant, and Lieutenant Reuben Chamberlain was paymaster. At Fort Stoddart duties were exacted on imports and exports. Four miles west of Fort Stoddart was Mount Vernon.

"3. Passing down the river, a strong fort was located at Mobile called Fort Charlotte. Another was also constructed here, Fort Bowyer.

"4. Going now northward, on the east side of the Alabama, two miles below the 'cut off,' a quarter of a mile from the Tensaw Boat Yard, was the ill-fated Fort Mims. This was built in the summer of 1813 and will be again noticed. When the erection of this stockade was commenced is uncertain, perhaps in July, and, according to Pickett, its last block house was never finished.

"This might be called No. 1 of the stockades erected especially for protection against the Creeks but the former notation will be continued.

"5. Fort Pierce was a small stockade some two miles south-east of Fort Mims. It took its name from two brothers, William Pierce and John Pierce, who came from New England and made there their home in Spanish times. William Pierce was a weaver and John Pierce a teacher.

"6. Crossing the Alabama and coming into the new Clarke County, we reach Fort Glass, built some time in July at the home of Zachariah Glass by himself and his neighbors, Nah-see, called a Tory Creek, an intelligent Indian, employed in the Creek war as a scout, assisting, it is said, in the building.

"7. Fort Madison was in the north-east corner of section one, township six, range three east of the St. Stephen's meridian, on the water-shed line, which was then the eastern boundary of Clarke County. It was north of Fort Glass only two hundred and twenty-five yards, and the two stockades constituted one locality, being the center of the quite large Fort Madison neighborhood. The first store in this region was about due east from Fort Madison, on the Alabama River, distant six miles, opened, probably, in 1812; and one of the first grist mills was built about the same time, perhaps about four miles north; and in 1813 the first cotton gin in the vicinity was erected some two miles north. This was one of the seven principal settlements in the then new Clarke County and the region west of the Alabama. As is evident from the mention of the store and the mill and the gin, and the plantations that were opened around these, it was an important locality for these settlers to hold.

"Fort Madison contained not quite an acre of ground, having been sixty yards square. A trench three feet in depth was dug around the outside and bodies of pine trees cut about fifteen feet in length were placed perpendicularly in the trench side by side, making thus a wall of pine wood twelve feet in height. Port holes were cut at convenient distances so as to enable the inmates to look out, and in case of an attack to fire upon the besiegers. In about the same way all these stockades of 1813 were constructed. They were lighted at night by means of the abundant pitch pine placed upon scaffolds, covered with earth, erected for the purpose. Additional securities were added at Fort Madison and an improved method of lighting introduced. Within this enclosure, bearing the name of the President of the United States, were the tents and cabins of the settlers of that neighborhood, and after its erection, the date not certain, Fort Glass was occupied by the soldiers.

"8. Fort Sinquefield was about ten miles north of Fort Madison, on the western side of Bassett's Creek, a large stream of water for a creek, on section thirteen, township eight, range three east, a smaller stockade built very much in the same manner. It was about five miles south-east from the present town of Grove Hill,

formerly called Macon, the county seat of Clarke County. This fort stood on a tableland or height of ground extending for a mile north and south. Eastward is a gentle slope which terminates finally in the Bassett's Creek valley. Westward are deep valleys and narrow, between large, high ridges of land. No actual hill is within miles of this locality, yet the ascent from the valleys to the top of the ridges or table, might be called going up hill. The spring which supplied this stockade with water is south of west, in one of the deep valleys, distant two hundred and seventy-five yards.

"Ninety feet distant from the once stockaded ground, in a northwest direction, are some graves. A few rods eastward of the fort ground is supposed to be an old burial place, although here the traces of the graves were not distinct in 1879. One of the principal highways of Clarke County runs directly by this locality, but, as it has been for many years a family home, no traces of the stockade outlines can be found here which are still so distinct at Forts Glass and Madison.

"9. Fort White was a small stockade a short distance northeast of the present Grove Hill.

"10. Landrum's Fort was eleven miles west from Fort Sinquefield; on section eighteen, township eight, range two east.

"11. Mott's Fort was in the same neighborhood. These both were small.

"12. Going now to the Tombigbee River and northward, Fort Easley was on section ten or eleven, township eleven, range one west, at what is now called Wood's Bluff. This fort was named, as were nearly all others, from a prominent settler in the neighborhood, and the bluff took its name from Major Wood, an officer in the Burnt Corn expedition. This stockade was on a small plateau containing about three acres. On the side next to the river the bluff is almost a perpendicular wall, there is 'a bold spring of water flowing from its side,' and the descent is quite abrupt from this plateau above and below the stockade ground, making this fort a naturally strong position.

"General Claiborne visited this stockade about the last of August, having received a report that it would be attacked by the Indians. It is possible that some of the Creeks started this report to call attention away from the real fort which they designed to attack, that Fort Mims, which was fifty miles south and twelve miles east from Fort Easley.

"13. Turner's Fort was some eight miles south and five west, in the west bend of the Tombigbee River, near the residence of Abner Turner. This fort was built of split pine logs doubled, and contained two or three block houses. It was held by the citizens of the neighborhood, thirteen men and some boys forming the garrison that expected to protect the women and children. Two or three miles distant, on the river, was a Choctaw reservation known as Turkey Town, called by the Choctaws, 'Fakit Chipunta,' Little Turkeys. In this stockade were members of the Turner, Thornton, Pace, and other families, early settlers in what became the delightful West Bend neighborhood. Here for a time resided Tandy Walker, who is mentioned in the Gaines records, who was 'a most experienced and daring backwoodsman;' but in the summer of 1813 he was connected with the affairs at Fort Madison.

"The inmates of the two forts, Turner's and Easley's, held religious services in their fort life. At Fort Easley a camp-meeting was held, probably in August, which some from the other stockades attended. The 'love feast' on Sunday morning was held outside the fort, but guards were stationed to give warning if any attacking party of Indians appeared.

"14. Passing, now, down the river on the west side, five miles below Coffeeville, about a mile from the river, was Cato's Fort.

"15. Still further west, in Washington County, was Rankin's Fort, quite a large stockade, and the most western one of the River Group.

"16. McGrew's Fort was in the corner of section one, township seven, range one west, about three miles north of Fort St. Stephens, in Clarke County five miles north and eighteen west from Fort Madison. It is claimed that the area here

enclosed with palisades was about two acres. Some of the posts were remaining in 1879, and around the fort locality was an old field. Here two brothers, William McGrew and John McGrew, British Royalists then, refugees, probably from the Atlantic coast, made an early settlement near the Tombigbee River. McGrew's Reserve, an old Spanish grant, is still a landmark in Clarke County. These brothers left the reputation of having been exemplary men, and of having become good Americans. How many families were in this fort is not known.

"17. Six miles south from Jackson, at Gullet's Bluff, was Fort Carney, on the line of travel to Mount Vernon. This fort was built by Josiah Carney, who settled on the river in 1809.

"18. Three miles south of Fort Carney, near Oven Bluff, was Powell's Fort, where were about six families, including those of John McCaskey, James Powell, and John Powell.

"19. Lavier's Fort, written sometimes by mistake or misprint Rivier's, was built, so far as has been ascertained (the only authority is an aged colored man, Dick Embree), near the residence of Captain Lawson Lavier, who traded with the Choctaw Indians. It was built by himself and a few neighbors, but its locality is not known. Pickett names it, but no resident of Clarke County was found, in 1877, who knew anything of it.

"20. At Mount Vernon, to which as General Claiborne's headquarters we now come, and where was a United States arsenal, were two forts. An arsenal was maintained, here until 1861, and since 1865 this has been held as a United States post, where a few officers and soldiers may always be found. Near the parade ground are some of those beautiful trees known as live oak, and the long-leaf pine growth extends a long distance northward. The landing place on the river known as Arsenal wharf or Fort Stoddard, four miles distant, the early United States 'port of entry' is distant from Mobile by the river channel forty-five miles, and five miles further north by the river brings one to the head of the Mobile River, the union of the Alabama and Tombigbee. The Mobile River, of the formation of which, judging from the school maps of Guyot and others, many must be ignorant, is fifty miles in length. Mount Vernon is distant now from Mobile by railroad only twenty-nine miles. As a place supposed to be very secure the two forts there, in the summer of 1813, are said to have been 'packed.' How many people were in these different stockades at any one time is not certain. But after the alarm caused by the massacre at Fort Mims there were at Forts Madison and Glass more than one thousand citizens and soldiers. At Fort Carney there were about four hundred. Rankin's Fort contained five hundred and thirty. How many hundred were at St. Stephens and at Mount Vernon is not known.

"In these river settlements there were at that time, it has been already stated, about two thousand whites and two thousand blacks, taking for the basis of authority the United States census of 1810.

"Besides these twenty or twenty-one forts, so called, which were in the line of the river settlements proper, two forts, named Roger's and Patton's were constructed in what is now Wayne County, Mississippi; Patton's Fort at Winchester and Roger's Fort, six miles above. There was little use for these, however, and no real need, for the Creeks were not likely to cross the Tombigbee and go into the Choctaw territory. In fact, families of Clarke County instead of trusting themselves in the stockades and enduring the inconveniences of thus living, for even a few weeks, crossed the Tombigbee and selected camping grounds far enough west to be, as they thought, out of danger. Among some such was the family of Mrs. Cathell, a widow with four sons and four daughters, having come into Clarke County from Georgia in 1812. Two of her sons went as soldiers against the Indians. She dreaded to have them leave her, saying that she had lost two brothers in the Revolutionary War and she felt sure these sons would fall in the coming conflict. And they did fall with so many others at Fort Mims. Disliking fort life for herself, as she had experienced it in her girlhood in the War of the Revolution, she with the other members of her family and ten or twelve other families crossed the river and went into camps."

ments were half-breeds, this distinction, if any distinction can be attached to the possession of a strain of savage blood, availed them little so long as they affiliated with their white kinsmen. Those of mixed blood stood even more in dread of the war party than the white settlers, since to them was meted the severest punishment for refusing to "take the war talk." Peace had been maintained between the two neighboring peoples so long that there was still much doubt in the minds of many of any permanent hostilities. Close confinement, too, in the forts grew irksome to the hardy frontiersmen accustomed to the largest freedom, and eager to improve their homes and lands. Halbert and Ball say:

After the battle of Burnt Corn, which did not terminate as the whites had hoped, as the settlers of this exposed and isolated river region gathered more fully into their various stockades, the inhabitants on the Tensaw and along Little River, many of them being of mixed and of Creek blood yet dreading the fury of the war parties of the Creek Nation, gathered around the residence of a settler named Samuel Mims, an old Indian countryman, one mile from the Alabama River, two miles below the cut-off and one fourth of a mile from the Tensaw boat-yard. Here where before the Burnt Corn action, many families had gathered, they erected a stockade nearly square, enclosing about an acre, built very much as was Fort Madison and the other stockades and entered through a large eastern and a western gate. In this enclosure were several buildings, the home of the Mims family being near the center. One of these buildings was known as Patrick's Loom-house and having some extra picketing attached to this, the inmates called it the "Bastion."

Both Pickett and Halbert describe Fort Mims, erected during the summer of 1813, as a military post under very lax discipline, for the moment utterly unprepared for the sudden attack upon it which with the coolest deliberation had been planned by the Creeks. Filled no less with Tecumseh's counsel than with revenge at the memory of the affair on Burnt Corn Creek, they had strengthened their Confederacy, making no secret now of having danced the significant war-dance. They had been well supplied with arms and ammunition by the Spaniards at Pensacola, who, judging from every circumstance and the swiftness of Governor Manique's congratulations sent to William Weatherford, now the recognized leader of the war party,²³ had assisted them in planning the attack on Fort Mims.

²³ Weatherford is thought by Halbert to have joined the war party about August 25, just five days prior to the massacre of Fort Mims, and while it appears absurd and preposterous to think that an opponent of a movement that had been fomenting for months, if not years, should at the last moment become its leader, we give his views on account of Weatherford's prominence in this narrative.

In speaking of a correspondence between General Flournoy and General Claiborne, dated August 25, 1813, Halbert says:

In spite of conflicting opinions as to the war spirit of the Creeks, the Burnt Corn expedition had its weight and preparations for war went steadily on. Governor Holmes had greatly strengthened the military defenses of the Mississippi Territory and the numerous stockades were daily inspected by General Claiborne, commanding at Mount Vernon. On August 7 he visited Fort Mims in person and advised the utmost caution on the part of Major Beasley. The latter continued to view the whole situation with an optimism highly colored by Colonel Hawkins' views, and even if there were trouble his sense of security and contempt for the source are evident in his reply when the cautious and gallant half-breed scout, Jim Cornells, after reconnoitering the Fort for several miles along the river, returned and announced that a band of Indians were approaching, that it was "only a gang of red cattle." "Red cattle" was a sobriquet, if not an epithet, that the white settlers contemptuously applied to the Creeks.

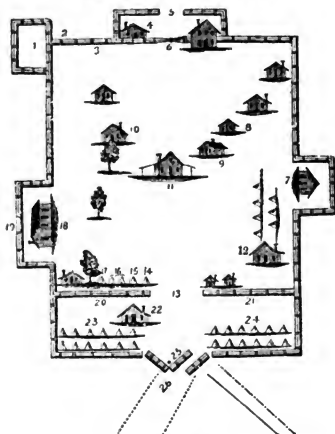
Major Daniel Beasley, in command of the garrison at Fort Mims, has been presented by Halbert and others as wholly unfit temperamentally and on account of his free use of intoxicating liquors for such a responsible position. Other historians have sought to exonerate him.

"Some time between the dates of these two letters, it is evident that Weatherford joined the war party, for before August closed we find him at Fort Mims; General Woodward places it in 1813, but does not name the month. And it may be here observed that Tecumseh seems to have had no influence over Weatherford. Woodward says that Sam Moniac and Weatherford, returning from a trip into the Mississippi Territory, where they had been 'trading in beef cattle,' found several chiefs assembled—it is said on Tallewassee Creek, a mile and a half from the Alabama River—and taking the 'black drink.'

"These chiefs told Weatherford and Moniac that they must join them or be put to death. The following are Woodward's own words: Moniac boldly refused and mounted his horse. Josiah Francis, his brother-in-law, seized his bridle. Moniac snatched a war club from his hand, gave him a severe blow and put out, with a shower of rifle bullets following him. Weatherford consented to remain. He told them that he disapproved their course, and that it would be their ruin, but that they were his people, he was raised with them, and he would share their fate.' General Woodward names among these chiefs Hopie Tustanuggee, or Far Off Warrior, a Tuskegee, their eldest or principal chief, 'the one' says Woodward 'looked upon as the General,' and who was killed at Fort Mims; Peter McQueen; Jim Boy or High Head Jim; Josiah Francis or Hillis Hadjo, 'the new made prophet,' probably the same who is called Joseph by General Wilkinson; Seekaboo, the Shawnee prophet; and several others. He says that Weatherford offered some advice to these chiefs, but they declined to follow his suggestions. The reasons which Weatherford assigned for joining the war party, as detailed at some length by Woodward, are very creditable to Weatherford's humanity. He thought he would thus be the means of preventing not a little bloodshed."

DRAWING OF FORT MIMS,

Found among Gen. Claiborne's manuscript papers.



REFERENCES.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1 Block House. | 14 Ensign Chambliss' Tent. |
| 2 Pickets cut away by the Indians. | 15 Ensign Gibbs'. |
| 3 Guard's Station. | 16 Randon's. |
| 4 Guard House. | 17 Captain Middleton's. |
| 5 Western Gate, but not up. | 18 Captain Jack's Station. |
| 6 This Gate was shut, but a hole was cut through by the Indians. | 19 Port-holes taken by Indians. |
| 7 Captain Bailey's Station. | 20 21 Port-holes taken by Indians. |
| 8 Steadham's House. | 22 Major Beasley's Cabin. |
| 9 Mrs. Dyer's House. | 23 Captain Jack's Company. |
| 10 Kitchen. | 24 Captain Middleton's Company. |
| 11 Mims' House. | 25 Where Major Beasley fell. |
| 12 Randon's House. | 26 Eastern Gate, where the Indians entered. |
| 13 Old Gate-way—open. | |

Certainly he did not lack physical courage. That he shared largely in the doubt manifested in some quarters of any serious hostility on the part of the Indians as to lead to actual war is evident. It is clear, too, that he regarded the battle of Burnt Corn as much ado about nothing.

Though making light of the situation, the whites in the main still kept within the fortresses erected for their safety. It is said that at Fort Mims they were permitted to stroll far beyond the gates and with the exception of the anxiety shown by General Claiborne in his message of August 29 to Major Beasley the people seemed lulled into an unaccountable sense of security, a condition that overtakes men sometimes when in imminent danger. At Fort Mims, to which place had been brought a few days previous a supply of whiskey, "some of the inmates," writes Pickett, "had become inactive and free from alarm and had abandoned themselves to fun and frolic." All historians paint the scene as something of a holiday festivity.

Led by the sphinx-like Weatherford—a descendant of the beautiful Princess Sehoy, in whose veins ran the blood of McGillivray—and by his trusted confederates Peter McQueen and the "Prophet" Francis, the Indians decided to make the attack at noon in retaliation for the assault of the whites at Burnt Corn, which also had been fixed at that hour. The horrible massacre took place on August 30. The day has been described as beautiful and placid, with golden shafts of summer sunlight burnishing forest, field and water. The usual drum-beat, which had been instituted as a call for twelve o'clock dinner, had sounded, falling with a double significance on the ears of the thousand grim warriors who in the coverts of the forest awaited this signal for the attack. Just as many have done before, the occupants of the Fort were engaged in the feast and the dance, totally unconscious of danger, when the painted and befeathered warriors of Weatherford, who commanded the attack, stealing from the deep woods and tall cane-brakes, stealthily approached the Fort.³⁴ In a moment, clashing

³⁴ In connection with Weatherford's attack on the Fort the following letter from his grandson, Charles Weatherford of Mt. Pleasant, Alabama, dated October 7, 1890, to Mr. T. H. Ball will prove interesting:

"Sir—Your letter of the 2d inst. came to hand yesterday. Sir, your subject has become stale. The name of Billy Weatherford is almost forgotten, superseded by the names of such men as Lee, Jackson and Grant. With the death of my father, Charles Weatherford, Sr., who is about ninety-five years old, the name of Weatherford will become commonplace. My father is the oldest and only living

with the gay, hilarious chatter and laughter, the yells of the savages arose on the air.

Original records of General Claiborne, used by Pickett, say in substance that the sand had washed against the eastern gate and that on August 30 it was swinging wide open. As Weatherford and his warriors sped swiftly towards it, Major Beasley ran forward and vainly essayed to close it. The Indians struck him fiercely with their clubs and tomahawks and supposing him dead rushed over his body into the Fort. In a dying condition the stricken officer crawled behind the gate, where he shortly expired. While in the throes of death, all historians record that he, to the last, tried to rally his men, persistently calling to them to save the Fort. Whatever may have been his offense in the neglect of duty, that he died bravely none will dispute.

child of the notorious, and so called bloody-handed, Billy Weatherford. And I, sir, am the only living child of Charles Weatherford, Sr. Now, sir, you know who and what I am.

"My grandfather, Billy Weatherford, died in 1826.

"I was born in 1834, therefore what I have to say will only be hearsay and from many lips, some prejudiced and some partial.

"According to the most authentic information, Weatherford did not desire the massacre at Fort Mims. About the middle of the afternoon of that sadly memorable day Weatherford met his half brother, David Tate, about twelve miles above Fort Mims, and told him of the massacre and spoke of it with much regret. He told Tate that he tried to prevent it; but under the excitement his warriors threatened his life if he interfered. Tate did not belong to the hostile party.

"Now as to Weatherford's being mounted at the time the engagement began, circumstances prove that he was not. I had an aunt who was a refugee in Fort Mims. I have often heard her say that she saw Billy Weatherford as he came in the gate at full run, at the head of his warriors, jump a pile of logs almost as high as his head. (Weatherford stood six feet two inches.) She said, as he sprang over the logs he saw Captain Dixon Bailey who was a bitter enemy, to whom he shouted, 'Dixon Bailey, to-day one or both of us must die.' So I judge by this that he was not mounted at the time of the engagement. But in the evening (afternoon) of that day, when he met Tate, Weatherford was mounted on the veritable black horse. I believe it is a recognized fact that all warriors of note ride either a milk-white or raven black steed. Now, sir, I, being a man of peace, and altogether unlike my grand sire, ride an old sorrel mare.

"The aunt of whom I have spoken as being a refugee, in Fort Mims at the time of the massacre was Mrs. Susan Hatterway (nee Stiggins) who hated Billy Weatherford with a thorough hatred. My aunt's husband was killed early in the fight. She had no children. And when she saw that the fort would be reduced to ashes she took hold of a little white girl, Elizabeth Randon, with one hand, and a negro girl named Lizzie, with the other, and said to them, 'Let us go out and be killed together.' But to her surprise she saw one of the busy and bloody warriors beckon her to him. On approaching she recognized him. It was Ifa Tustunnaga, meaning Dog Warrior. He took her prisoner with the two children. He took them to Pensacola, and gave them over to some of their friends, where they remained until the war closed, when they returned to their homes in Alabama.

Though scattered here and there in the wildest state of disorder and confusion, the brave defenders of the Fort snatched their guns and knives and began a terrific battle with the foe. Leading and cheering them was none other than the heroic Captain Dixon Bailey, already referred to for his bravery at Burnt Corn. He was now aided by his brothers, James and Daniel. Of the royal blood of Sehoy also, his stern eye did not quail even in this dread hour before the fierce gaze of the haughty Weatherford, nor of that of the Creek leader's far-famed grandfather, the elder "Red Eagle," known as the fiercest warrior of the Muscogee tribe. With one blow of his trusted gunstock he struck down one of their beaded and feathered prophets frantically leading an assault. Striving by his side in heroic defense

Soon after the close of the war my aunt married Absalom Sizemore. She died near Mount Pleasant in 1865.

"When Elizabeth Randon grew to womanhood she married Algier Newman, and lived many years on the Alabama River just below Fort Claiborne in Monroe County. Excuse me for the digression.

"I will get back to my subject by saying that Lucy Cornell's story must have been merely to embellish the story. But it would not have surprised me if he had done so. All great warriors do such things.

"I believe the name has always been spelled Cornells.

"Billy Weatherford was married three times, twice under the Indian law. His first wife, my grandmother, was Mary Moniac, originally spelled McNac. She died in 1804 at Point Thloly, which is in Lowndes County. His second wife was Sapoth Thlanie. I never heard where or when she died. His third and last wife was Mary Stiggins. They were married under the white law in 1817. She died near Mount Pleasant, Monroe County, 1832.

"I had an anecdote told me once by the mother of the late Colonel William Boyles, of Mobile, which is the only one that I have never seen in print. Mrs. Boyles was a widow and lived near Billy Weatherford in Monroe County. She kept what was called at that time a wayside tavern. Weatherford, in going to and from his plantation, passed right by her door. They were warm friends and she frequently invited him to eat a meal with her. On this particular day she invited him to eat dinner. Just before the meal was ready four strangers rode up and asked for dinner. All were soon seated at table, and discussion commenced, in the course of which the strangers wanted to know where that bloody-handed savage, Billy Weatherford lived. Mrs. Boyles said Weatherford's eyes sparkled. She shook her head at him to say nothing. The talk went on. Three of the strangers expressed a wish to meet Weatherford, assuring Mrs. Boyles they would kill the red-skinned, bloody-handed savage on sight. (Weatherford was fair, with light brown hair and mild black eyes.) Dinner being over, the gentlemen walked out on the gallery. To the surprise of the strangers, the man with whom they had sat at table stepped into the midst of the crowd and said: 'Some of you gentlemen expressed a wish while at table to meet Billy Weatherford. Gentlemen, I am Billy Weatherford, at your service!' But Mrs. Boyles said she never saw men more frightened than were the three belligerently disposed gentlemen. Not one of the trio was entitled to a raven black or a milk white steed. They quailed under the glance of the Red Eagle's eye. The fourth gentleman, who had said but little, stepped forward and shook hands with Weatherford, and introduced himself as Colonel David Panthom."

of the Fort, until death claimed them both, were the brave Captains Jack and Middleton commanding companies of the Mississippi volunteers, all of whom perished in the first hours of resistance. General Claiborne had sent these two companies, drawn from the best population of the Territory, to help guard the Fort in event of trouble. The loss of these gallant spirits was a serious one to the army and to the communities from which they had volunteered. They were among the first to resist the Indians and their heroic efforts at one time, for a few moments, checked the work of the savages. But confusion prevailed everywhere and the lack of order served to increase the panic. The author of *In Clarke and Its Surroundings*, in a vivid if crude description of the scene, writes:

The officers bravely endeavored to drive the Indians from the gateway but bravery was now of no avail. Officers and soldiers fell in vain attempts to counteract the results of a want of vigilance in the past. Help or hope there was none and soldiers, women, children, Spaniards, friendly Indians fell together in heaps of mangled bodies, the dying and the dead, scalped, mutilated, bloody, to be consumed ere long by fire or to become food for hungry dogs and buzzards. In vain the young men, no longer dancing with the girls, and also the aged men and the boys, fought the unrelenting savages with desperate fury. In vain did the brave Captain Bailey, left as the commanding officer and who lived through all the carnage, animate the inmates to a resolute resistance. In vain did the women load the guns, bring water from the well and do all that it was possible to do in sustaining the courage of the men.

The massacre had lasted between two and three hours when there was a slight cessation of hostilities, to be immediately renewed some historians assert, when the Indians had been reinforced and led by the illustrious Red Eagle.²⁵ It was at this time that one of the main buildings of the Fort was set ablaze by the fire laden arrows from the bow of the fierce Shawnee chieftain, Seekaboo. The cunning device never proved more effective and the Fort with the exception of a block-house and a few pickets soon went up in flames.

The sickening details of the massacre that have left an eerie shadow on the pages of our early history will not be dwelt on further. In the afternoon of the ill-fated August 30, the ghastly tragedy of Fort Mims was concluded. "Not even in the Sepoy Rebellion," says one historian, "did human eyes behold a more revolting spectacle." Surpassing in frenzied fierceness the ravage of Wyoming Valley, and similar in many respects to the massacre of Fort Rosalie at Natchez

²⁵ Weatherford always denied that his grandfather, the elder Red Eagle, led the Indians in this second assault on Fort Mims.

nearly a hundred years previous, when the French in its region were practically exterminated, it takes rank as one of the most inhuman pieces of butchery ever perpetrated in the history of the American Indian. The deed had been so tragic and had been committed so suddenly that in view of the large admixture of blood between the two races and the long peace maintained few could account for it. As brutal as the nature of the Creeks was known to be, few believed that they were still as much the savage as this recent deed had proved. Loyola's Jesuits had for nearly a century taught them Divine law, but, though the sincerest lovers of freedom—with an aspiration it is true that partook largely of that of the lion's impulse for mastery of the forest—they still were, except in a few instances, unresponsive to lasting Christian instruction. However, we can realize how strong must have been the national spirit of the Muscogee. Though bound to the white race by the linking of proud names in both Muscogee, European and American genealogy, in the final reckoning the names of McGillivray, Bailey, Cornell, McGirth, Tunstall, Tait, Durant, Moniac, Smith, McQueen, Ficher and many more of American significance were as names written in sand in comparison with names and faiths sacred since the Great Spirit commanded the Muscogee to come out of the bosom of the Nanih Waiya—names and faiths which must now be defended at every cost and sacrifice.

As an instance of the irony of fate, while the Spaniards at Pensacola were urging the Creeks to exterminate the Americans, members of their own race and creed at Fort Mims, in a suppliant attitude and in the very act of making the sign of the cross, were mercilessly tomahawked by the brutal hands they were aiding.

There has been much controversy relative to the number of Indians engaged in the massacre. Pickett and some others place the strength of the attacking party at one thousand. Many local authorities, and some historians also, have disputed about the number of inhabitants slain. Halbert, who follows Pickett in most statements, fixes the number of whites killed during the massacre, including men, women and children, at five hundred. A number having fled at the outset, it would be safe to say that near these figures would be found the truth. Pickett's list,²⁶ taken from Claiborne's papers of inhabitants

²⁶ Pickett's list of those who escaped from Fort Mims is as follows: Mrs. McGirth and her daughters, a friendly Indian named Socca, Hester a negro woman,

that escaped, with an additional one made later, is given in a note for the benefit of those who, like the patient, minutiae-loving, fact-cleaner, Halbert, take pride in holding their apples in both hands.

In all this gruesome picture of savage warfare, from the entrance into the Fort to the last fiendish blow, only one single act has been cited by historians to lighten the dark chronicles of the red man, that being the protection, already referred to, given by the valiant young chieftain, Jim Boy, to Mrs. McGirth and her family, who had found and nourished him when a child forsaken and starving. With the exception of this sincere mark of gratitude no other act, unless we accept as authentic the instance of the protection afforded Mrs. Susan Hatter-

Samuel Smith of mixed blood, Lieutenant W. R. Chambliss, Dr. Thomas G. Holmes, Lieutenant Peter Randon, Sergeant Matthews, Josiah Fletcher, Martin Rigdon, Joseph Perry, Jesse Steadham, Edward Steadham, John Hoven, ——— Jones, and ——— Maurice. This last name can now be corrected from a newspaper record. A. J. Morris died at Heflin, Alabama, April 5, 1891, nearly one hundred years of age. He is supposed to have been the last survivor of the inmates of Fort Mims. Five are mentioned in the *Birmingham Age Herald*, by a special correspondent, L. E. M., as escaping through the pickets together. These were Martin Rigdon, Samuel Smith, Joseph Perry, Jesse Steadham, and A. J. Morris, and all these, it is said, went to Mount Vernon after several days wandering. These names are all in Pickett's list. "To these," says Halbert, "may be added, according to Dr. Clanton, Stubblefield, Cook, Montjoy, Aaron Bradley and Elemuel Bradford. Dr. Clanton's authority was Samuel Smith. Pickett's informers were Dr. T. G. Holmes, Jesse Steadham and Peter Randon. On the authority of Judge Meek may be added the name of James Bealle, and on the authority of Rev. J. G. Jones of Hazlehurst, Mississippi, the name of private Daniels of Jefferson County, Mississippi. There have already been given on good authority the additional names of Mrs. Mims, David Mims, Alexander Mims and Joseph Mims; also of Mrs. Susan Hatterway, Elizabeth Randon, and Lizzie the colored girl. So that, in addition to the fifteen of Pickett, without counting the McGirth family of seven or eight, we have the names of fourteen others, making in all some thirty-six survivors out of five hundred and fifty-three. There were probably a few others whose names are yet unknown, and some of the hundred colored people were probably taken away by the Indians, of whom there would remain no traces. About fifty seems to be a fair estimate of those who survived the horrors of that day and night.

"The escape of Lieutenant Chambliss," continues Halbert, "as given by Pickett, was remarkable. After passing out from the stockade and the Indians around it, he at length took refuge in a log-heap. To this in the night, some Indians set fire and when it seemed that he could no longer endure the smoke and the heat, something called the Indians away and he escaped.

"Captain Dixon Bailey, although severely wounded, left the Fort with others, taking with him his little child, but he never reached a human habitation. Judge Meek states that some time after there was found in the swamp a gun having the name, Dixon Bailey, cut in the stock, and by it were the bones of a man and a child. Pickett states that a negro carried a child of Dixon Bailey's in the effort to escape and that becoming bewildered in his excitement he ran back among the Indians who immediately killed the trembling boy as he was calling on his father to save his life."

way and two children by Dog Warrior, indicates that there was any intention on the part of the savages to spare the helpless women and children of the Fort,²⁷ though Weatherford claims, it is said, to have urged that these be left unmolested.

An incident preserved in behalf of the negro race makes a strong appeal: this being the instance of the negro Hester's devotion to the white race and her heroic effort, though severely wounded, to apprize General Claiborne of the calamity that was overtaking the Fort. In comparison with the savage and inhuman behavior of the Indians, the conduct of the slave, inferior though her race was to the red man's in many of the nobler aspirations, may be pointed to as interpretative of racial characteristics. Association with the white race had affected and improved her nature. Even here on this marge and limit of civilization, where the white man was lax in many rules that were with common consent made for him, we find the negro slaves, as a whole, reflecting in some degree his best virtues and instincts, while the red race of America was slow to receive the impress of the Christian civilization.²⁸

The news of the dreadful massacre at Fort Mims was borne over the country as fast as horse and rider could travel and aroused not only the hot indignation of the people of the Mississippi Territory but of Americans throughout the Republic. Hearts everywhere were anxious for the safety of the white race in this far Southern section. Particularly in the Southern States the horrible deed was denounced, since Virginia, North and South Carolina had sent many representatives to the beautiful and fertile Mississippi country. Other States from Connecticut and Maine down to Kentucky had furnished numerous names to the list of immigrants who had settled the Territory.

When the news of the atrocity committed by the Indians was verified, vigilance committees were formed throughout the Mississippi

²⁷ See note on page 45-46 of this narrative.

²⁸ Another instance of the heroism and devotion of the negro race should be cited, the story running that one Samuel Smith, a survivor of the massacre, related to Dr. A. B. Clanton for publication an incident depicting the courage and loyalty of a negro man who by the side of Captain Dixon Bailey and his brothers valiantly assisted in the defense of Fort Mims. "A large and powerful negro man," says this eye witness, "wielding an ax killed more Indians than any other man in the Fort but he fell at last covered with wounds from knife and club and tomahawk."

Territory and the new State of Louisiana, the name of Harmon Blennerhassett, the unhappy dupe and confederate of Aaron Burr, appearing on the one formed at Port Gibson, Claiborne County, Mississippi, where the unfortunate family had made a hiding place for itself, calling the retreat "La Cache."

It was through the talented Mississippian George S. Gaines, who displayed unusual leadership in helping to enlist the Choctaws' aid in the American cause, that General Andrew Jackson was first apprised of the dreadful catastrophe at Fort Mims. The news, as has been stated elsewhere, spread consternation throughout the Southern States and the brave Tennesseans, remembering their own frontier experiences with the Cherokees and Chickasaws, determined to assist the Mississippi Territory in her hour of need. The gallant force that volunteered in her defense contained such spirits as Sam Houston and Davy Crockett.

Communication with the Governors of the adjoining States was opened up by Governor Holmes, who lost no time in strengthening the military defense of the Territory and putting it on a war footing. His messages and orders abound with patriotic utterances, such as "Patriotism, humanity, every motive of self preservation and every honorable feeling that binds man to man demands our utmost exertion."

The massacre at Fort Mims filled no hearts, perhaps, with more sorrow than those of General Ferdinand L. Claiborne and his Mississippi volunteers. The troops of the detachment dispatched with all haste to the scene were horror stricken at the sight that met their eyes, and on beholding the butchered bodies of their friends and relatives "breathed out vengeance," says an eye witness, against the perpetrators of the appalling deed.

The brave and gallant Claiborne had left nothing unprovided for in the protection of the frontier, which would have been complete had his instructions been carried out. He had been everywhere on the Territorial boundary as far as the Choctaw line, sometimes riding seventy miles a day, and was often compelled to take the initiative, so restricted had his movements been by General Flournoy. After the dreadful disaster of Fort Mims, Claiborne began to be more self-assertive and aggressive and determined at any cost to protect the Mississippi Territory from an invasion by the ferocious and merciless

Creek Indians. Always counseling the greatest care on the part of the forces garrisoning the various forts, he now began active operations against the Creek war party. A favorite with the Mississippi militia, he always retained their confidence under the worst possible conditions, before and after they had entered volunteer service, an instance of his influence being shown on the occasion when he had determined to lead his regiment into the Indian country and attack the capital city of Holy Ground. Though the terms of his troops had expired and they were barefooted, hungry and half clothed, their crops at home ungathered, and the low price of cotton making it certain that their families would suffer for the necessities of life, he called the volunteers back into service and led them to victory in one of the most decisive battles that was fought for the safety of the Territory. And in this connection it is a fact worthy of record here that throughout the war not a shadow of disloyalty nor a trace of mutiny can be found in their service with Claiborne nor later with Jackson.

The attitude of Major-General Flournoy at this time would have chilled the soldierly ardor of a commander less brave than Claiborne. Cautious to the verge of timorousness, he, while a man of ability and worth in many respects, more than once had interfered with and thwarted a number of brilliant exploits planned by General Claiborne early after the fall of Fort Mims, exploits that would have summarily put an end to the Creek hostilities. Claiborne, knowing how imminent was the danger to the frontier settlements from the Indians, was determined to protect not only Mobile, but the entire Southern section. To all his appeals for immediate action against the destroyers of the garrison at Fort Mims, with his troops writhing under inaction and nursing with an implacable spirit their grievance against the Indians for the brutal massacre at Fort Mims, with the war already established and a certainty of Great Britain's and Spain's assistance thereto, he had received the following meticulous and tantalizing reply from the commander at Mobile:

"I do not wish you to engage in any rash enterprise. You must act on the defensive." Compare such a diffident spirit with the martial one that called forth such fervid utterances as "Seize Pensacola and you disarm the Indians. It is the real heart of the Creek Confederacy;" "At all hazards, I wish you would enter the Creek Nation;"

"I would advise a stroke at the root of all present distress—Pensacola." Such confidence of speech not only reveals the military ardor of the Mississippi soldier, but conclusively proves that he had a clear understanding of the situation. Being denied the expeditions planned for the use of combined forces, in squads of 100 and less, and sometimes single-handed and alone, the Mississippi troops under this brave discerning officer met the Indians throughout the months of September, October, November and December and overwhelmed them in every instance after the fatal event of August 30. Placed in the vicinity of Mobile to guard that place against an attack by the British, he was, also, keenly alive to the danger along the entire frontier. Dealing, however, with a superior who was evidently not in touch with the situation, his position was a trying one. Knowing the temper of the Mississippi volunteers, he feared nothing from the Indians if given the opportunity of quelling them. As the days passed in his correspondence with General Flournoy he evinces a confident, aggressive generalship, while a weak and vacillating judgment on the part of that officer is apparent, as is shown not only in the instance of his change of mind in the use of the Choctaw troops but in his lack of decision in so many other matters.

It was to General Claiborne more than to any other holding high rank in the army that Gaines and McKee looked for assistance in arranging the Choctaw alliance and in securing the active participation of Pushmataha in the war. It is thought by many local historians that had this renowned chieftain joined the war party the people of the Mississippi Territory could not in all probability have withstood the Creek invasion. The wisdom and judgment Governor Holmes displayed during the alliance with the Choctaws are also very apparent, and much credit is due this able official for the attitude of the Indians to the north of the Territory. With the Choctaws and Chickasaws friendly and General Claiborne now checking the advance of the Creek army Holmes felt that the safety of the people along the frontier was in a large measure assured, and his messages and orders reflect his relief.

If Claiborne had proved an obstacle to the invading foe, no less active and vigilant was Colonel Joseph Carson, whose volunteer forces were to lead many a fierce charge against Weatherford's

warriors.²⁹ Both of these brave Mississippi commanders were fast driving the Indians from the frontier when General Jackson began active operations against them in the Northern District.

In addition to the message of Gaines, later official communications from Governor Holmes had brought news of the massacre at Fort Mims to the Tennessee capital and with his known impetuosity, though still weak from a wound received in a street duel with Thomas H. Benton, Jackson had gathered a large volunteer force of Tennesseans about him and hastened to the Mississippi Territory by way of Huntsville, now in the State of Alabama, joining his faithful subordinate, Colonel Coffee, who had preceded him.

General Claiborne, then in charge of the Mississippi defenses, was henceforth to be reinforced by General Jackson and his brave Tennesseans supported by United States regulars and numerous volunteers serving under Generals Coffee, Cocke, White and Floyd, the last mentioned commanding the volunteer forces from Georgia. These were to assist Jackson in his efforts to reduce the strength of the Creek Nation in such a manner as to render it of no assistance to the British.

It was about this time that young Thomas Hinds with the Mississippi Dragoons arrived on the scene. The following extracts from the *Encyclopedia of Mississippi History* relative to the furnishing of troops by Governor David Holmes will give the reader some idea of the organization of this troop of horse in the Mississippi Territory:

Previous to the Fort Mims massacre, Governor Holmes ordered five companies of infantry and the cavalry to be in readiness to move at the shortest notice. The Mississippi Dragoons were among the first to respond. This famous cavalry battalion was composed of the Jefferson Troop commanded by Thomas Hinds before his promotion; the Adams Troop with James Kempe³⁰ captain, the Madison

²⁹ Colonel Joseph Carson of the Tombigbee settlements was one of the prominent men of the later Territorial period. He married a daughter of Abner Green of Adams County and consequently had influential connections in the Natchez district. He was commissioned as an attorney-at-law in 1807, was a member of the Territorial Council from 1809 to 1817; was attorney-general of the eastern district for many years, a militia officer, in 1813 was colonel of the 1st Mississippi regiment, United States Volunteers, on duty in the Alabama region. He forced the evacuation of the Spanish post on the Perdido River, April 27, 1813. In 1812 he was urged by his section as a candidate for congressional delegate. To him was accorded an admiration by Governor Holmes second only to that the Governor constantly expressed for Major Thomas Hinds.

³⁰ "James Kempe the grandfather of Mrs. Jefferson Davis, was a native of Castlefin, County Donegal, Ireland, and was one of the 'United Irishmen' of 1798, compelled to flee to America," wrote Anthony Campbell, the last survivor

Troop, J. G. Richardson captain and the Amite Troop, ——— Dunn captain—in all about 200 men.

In his General Orders issued at Liberty, Governor Holmes said:

The commander-in-chief has witnessed with the utmost satisfaction the alacrity shewn by the cavalry in repairing to the standard of their country upon his call for their services. The corps is composed of men in whose patriotism and courage their fellow citizens must have the utmost confidence. Not soldiers from compulsion, or from necessity, they have placed themselves in the front ranks of danger to oppose a savage foe now threatening our country with destruction and devastation.

The battalion was composed of the very pick of the young manhood of the Mississippi Territory and notwithstanding the estimate placed on it by General Flournoy, commanding at Mobile, it was destined to take a leading part in the story of Jackson's Coast Campaign against the British. It was organized by order of Governor David Holmes for immediate use on the frontier to meet the Indian situation.

The cavalry were sent forward with the 3rd United States Infantry, which had been largely recruited by volunteers from the Mississippi Territory. Governor Holmes in a message that followed their arrival in the war zone announced that "the arrival of these troops renders the entire force on the eastern frontier efficient and reputable."

The infantry furnished by the Mississippi Territory were to coöperate when necessary with Jackson's army composed of East and West Tennessee troops and United States infantry. Later, Governor Holmes sent another regiment under the gallant Colonel Nixon.²¹ Two more companies were sent to this regiment in February, 1814,

of these Irish immigrants in Mississippi. Henry S. Foote had it that he was born in Virginia. Kempe succeeded Benjamin Farrar as Captain of the Adams troop of horse and won distinction in the New Orleans campaign, not long after which he died, leaving several children. Says Foote: "Among the daughters who sprang from him was a Mrs. Howell, of whom, I am told, Mrs. Jefferson Davis is the daughter".

Kempe, who became a colonel of cavalry, died at Natchez in 1820, leaving a numerous family of sons and daughters. One of the daughters, as Foote said married William B. Howell, of Natchez, son of an old revolutionary officer and governor of New Jersey. Campbell wrote of these families, "What a clutch of true blues there will be between the blood of Howell and Kempe." See *Encyclopedia of Mississippi History*.

²¹ Colonel Nixon was born in Virginia and after living some years in South Carolina removed in 1809 to the Mississippi Territory. He was among the first to offer his services in defence of his country. During the Creek War, Colonel Nixon at the head of a considerable force scoured the swamps of the Perdido and other streams and killed and captured many Indians. After he had accomplished all he could, he marched to the head of the Perdido, where he divided his command, sending Major William Peacock with the troops of the 39th to the boat yard on

from Colonel Neilson's regiment (Amite County) and Captain Rapalje's company from Washington. When the term of enlistment expired in April, 1814, the regiment was immediately recruited. On March 20, 1814, the Governor wrote to the colonel of the 3rd United States Infantry: "I have ordered six companies of infantry to be drafted and marched to the eastern frontier as expeditiously as possible." To Colonel Nixon the Governor wrote: "These six companies with the two that marched under the command of Major Swayze and as many more as can be prevailed upon will form your command." Though the Territory was sparsely settled every man who could bear a gun, as Governor Holmes noted in a message, was in the service at some period of the campaign in the South against the British.³²

After the arrival of Major Hinds with his troop of horse, General Claiborne continued to throw his forces with the utmost confidence against the Indians. It was to the chivalrous, adventure-loving Dragoons that the latter entrusted the whole territory, employing the gallant troop of horse to scour the country in pursuit of the roving bands of Indians who were menacing the white settlements.

General Jackson addressed a letter to Governor Holmes in which he thanked him for the promptitude with which he assembled and marched this body of troops, especially commending the fine appearance of the Dragoons. Made up of the sons of the first families of the Mississippi Territory, the troopers bore themselves a trifle arrogantly but cheerfully and almost lightly amidst every privation and hardship.

Their haughty and self-confident air and manner did not meet with the approbation of the commander of the district at Mobile. Seeking military glory through adventure and chafing under restrictions, the

Lake Tensaw, while he marched the remainder of his command to Fort Claiborne. He was an excellent officer and served to the end of the war. He was a member of the convention that formed the first constitution of the State of Mississippi, and was, afterwards, frequently a state senator. He died in Pearlinton, Mississippi, in 1824. He was a large, fine-looking man, with fair complexion, and was very popular.

³²Jefferson Davis, President of the Southern Confederacy, writing of this period many years later said: ". . . . When news came of the approach of the British army to attack New Orleans, the sons of Wilkinson County went in such numbers to defend the city, that the county court held a draft to keep a certain proportion of the men at home, for police purposes. The records of the County probably contain the particulars of the event, of which I have only the recollection of what a child would hear."

high-spirited battalion acted as an irritant to the obtuse though touchy and testy Flournoy.

General Claiborne regretted their inability to coöperate amicably with the commanding general of the district and deplored the communication which they addressed to that source, a remonstrance that must have been very tart, judging from the increased heat on the part of the commanding general. Knowing the real worth of the spirited troop of horse, he refused to take sides with the General in the controversy that followed. Both Claiborne and Jackson were always in perfect accord with the gallant young commander of the Dragoons. Throughout the fall of 1813 Claiborne depended on him at every turn in checking the movements of the wily foe, while General Jackson, perceiving his rare capacity as a cavalry officer and his ability as a leader, selected him to lead the army into Pensacola. Despite the attitude of General Flournoy, the adventurous, self-reliant Dragoons were to reap the glory they sought. Stung by the petty injustice of a superior at Mobile, the mettlesome and light-hearted battalion continued to follow Claiborne along the frontier and in the forks of the Tombigbee which immediately after the atrocity at Fort Mims became the scene of numerous bloody encounters between Mississippi troops and the Indians. Instigated by the revengeful "Prophet" Francis, his blood-thirsty warriors marched from settlement to settlement, making a holocaust of the deserted homes, killing all whom they met and carrying off the fattest cattle for the war feasts in which they were now constantly indulging.

It was on September 1, 1813, that the home of Ransom Kimbell, a pioneer settler from South Carolina, was attacked by Francis and his army, the Kimbell family with a party of friends and relatives having left the crowded stockade at Fort Sinquefield for more comfort in the farm house during the hot weather of August. It was in this unprotected condition that the entire party was surprised and fiendishly massacred by the "Prophet" and his warriors at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. The Indians advanced suddenly from the fastnesses of the dense summer forest, along Bassett Creek. The horrible deed was committed in the same spirit that prevailed at Fort Mims, the savages sparing neither old age nor the mother with the unborn child. Isham Kimbell, one of the two survivors, became a worthy citizen of Clarke County, where doubtless some descendant still resides who may

well be proud of lineage from this strong and valiant-hearted pioneer folk who marked with untimely graves the trails that became open roads for other feet.

Leaving the main party supposed to be still commanded by Weatherford, who like his grandfather was also called "Red Eagle," the "Prophet" Francis continued to operate in the forks of the Tombigbee, where, on the rich, alluvial lands, the hardy pioneers had established settlements, the more prosperous of them with the help of their slaves having opened large plantations. It was of these fair lands of promise that the Indians grew jealous, seeing in the cultivated fields and pastures the passing of the hunting-grounds and the buffalo trails that had been fixtures of their civilization. And now that they had taken the war path, the Creeks determined to exterminate the encroaching white settlements root and branch. Immediately following the murder of the Kimbells and their friends and relatives, the "Prophet" made a direct attack on Fort Sinquefield, to which the people in its vicinity had fled. The Fort was defended by a small company of troopers sent in haste by Colonel Carson from Fort Madison under the command of Lieutenant James Bailey, brother of the heroic Captain Dixon Bailey, who though maternally of savage descent had given his life at Fort Mims in behalf of the ideals of the civilization of the white race in America, having recognized in himself and in his children its superior claim.

Among the brave horsemen sent with Lieutenant Bailey in defense of Fort Sinquefield were James Wood, Isaac Hayden and James Smith. Few stories of the pioneer folk of America glow with more romance and adventure than those of the first settlers of this far southern region. Of the many daring feats daily performed the charge made by young Isaac Hayden near this Fort upon one hundred painted savages with a pack of dogs and a pair of pistols was an exploit so romantic and savoring even of the preposterous that it would, in all probability, have disconcerted a better trained soldiery than the "Prophet" Francis commanded. But one should not forget that the dogs with which the hero charged the Indians were pioneer dogs and that both dogs and men are taught to do their part in border life.

In the attack on Fort Sinquefield, the Indians did not display their usual strategy. While they very cunningly selected an hour when

the gates of the Fort would be open, the inmates being engaged in a burial service of the Kimbell party massacred a few days before, they failed to remember that the happenings of the last few days had rendered every mind alert and ready for defense and that their daylight approach down hill from the woods would be instantly caught by sharp eyes on the lookout for trouble. Though frantically urged forward by the "Prophet" himself, the Indians failed to surprise the gallant Lieutenant Bailey, who with his small party of Dragoons conveyed the people safely to the Fort. Failing to overtake them and perceiving a few women at a spring, the Indians made a break in that direction. It was then that the valiant Hayden flew at them with every dog in the Fort, urging on his one hundred snarling canines and brandishing his pistols in such a clamorous and boisterous manner that the savages, abashed at the performance, stood stock still while with the exception of one which was overtaken and slain, the women passed in safety to the Fort. After several hours' fierce attack on the Fort, Francis and his army, amid a whirl of bullets, retreated, leaving the excited defenders of the Fort victors though for the moment shaking with fear.

The next morning the inmates of Sinquefield made their way to Fort Madison, where they breathed more freely after their terrifying experience. Some attempted to carry along clothing and food and the journey became a painful one, filled as all were with fear of momentary attack by some lurking band of savages. It was with sad hearts, too, that they had left the new-made graves of their relatives and friends and it is little wonder that even such hardy spirits as theirs were depressed. In their own fireside superstitions, the stars had foretold their sorry plight, there was blood on the moon and the letter "W:" on the wing of the locust. It was a dark day in American history but it had its meaning. It was the advance of civilization to the far outer rim of its adventuring efforts; and scattered everywhere on the lonely frontier beneath the trees that had not as yet given up their forest depths were thousands of shallow graves, silent testimonials of the sacrifice of the first comers who cleared and made the fair land habitable for their race.

Tragic occurrences, such as have been related, were being daily reported to General Claiborne. The Creeks were now fully at war, and murder, rapine and pillage marked their pathway along the frontier.

After the verification of a constant rumor that a combined attack by the Indians was to be made on Fort Madison, General Claiborne ordered Colonel Carson and Major Hinds to quit that stockade and march to Fort St. Stephens as a place of greater safety.³³ Colonel Carson took with him about 500 settlers, men, women and children, with a view toward their better protection. It was natural, that any settlers still remaining in that section should feel alarmed at the evacuation of Fort Madison and so urgent were they in their entreaties for protection that General Claiborne, who had left the order discretionary with Colonel Carson, now hurriedly sent him a dispatch not to abandon Fort Madison if he felt sure his forces could protect it. Colonel Carson had already obeyed the order and for a short space Fort Madison was left without military defense, except that afforded by the eighty citizens who immediately enrolled themselves under the valiant Captains Austill and Dale. The latter was recovering from wounds he had received at Burnt Corn and was thirsting for revenge on the Indians. This force was not required to maintain the fort very long before Colonel Carson returned with his large company of women and children.

It was in this manner that General Claiborne with his small but trusted army moved for many days from place to place as the needs seemed more urgent. The forts were scattered and the Indians were roving in small predatory bands everywhere, and no one could tell where they would next concentrate their attack. Every settlement and every fort was appealing to Claiborne for protection and it was with the utmost care and the highest order of generalship that he prevented a repetition of Fort Mims.

General Claiborne was criticized by a few short sighted persons at the time for removing the garrison for several weeks from Fort Madison, but it is clearly seen that it was a move that he thought best to take until he could feel assured that the Indians were not gathering in such numbers that Colonel Carson could not maintain its defense.

³³ Colonel Carson was the military commander of the territory between the Alabama and Tombigbee Rivers in which region were located Fort Glass and Fort Madison and it was to General Claiborne with headquarters at Mount Vernon, forty miles distant, that he sent young Jerry Austill who later became a border hero with a special communication. The hardy youth traveled alone through a heavily timbered country filled with roving bands of Indians.

The situation at this time presented anything but a pleasing prospect. As yet the Choctaws, though allied with the Americans, had furnished no troops to the army and it was with much relief that the people heard that Pushmataha had visited St. Stephens with a proposal to enlist several companies of Choctaw troops for the American cause.

The celebrated chieftain met with much encouragement from General Claiborne and was accompanied to Mobile by Mr. George Gaines where the formal acceptance of the troops by General Flournoy took place. The commanding general, having by this time slowly but thoroughly embraced General Claiborne's view of the Indian matter, now no longer directed him to act on the defensive but, to his great relief empowered him to attack the Indians. The order, however, did not provide for an invasion of the Creek country so much desired by Claiborne.

After arriving home, Pushmataha, celebrated for his wisdom and discretion among the Choctaws, assembled the most powerful heads and rulers of the whole nation and with his convincing eloquence actively federated them with the Americans. The Chickasaws, too, were attached to the Americans through the efforts of Colonel McKee and John Peachland. It was as has already been observed, largely due to the statesmanship of Governor Holmes and General Claiborne that the aid of the Choctaws and Chickasaws was enlisted in the war, and their alliance with the American Republic was one of the master strokes in the successful defense of the Coast against British invasion.

It was during these days that Major Thomas Hinds with his Mississippi Dragoons was so closely associated with General Claiborne, both being engaged in service of the most strenuous and hazardous nature along the frontier and especially in the valley of the Tombigbee in keeping broken and disorganized bands of Indians from overrunning the entire country. The young cavalry officer, notwithstanding his breach with Flournoy, continued close to Jackson and Claiborne, and drew from them many warm expressions of praise.

While operating at this seat of war, the main body of the Indians usually kept within the dense, heavily-timbered swamps, sallying forth in companies sometimes numbering as many as a hundred, but

very often composed of not more than a dozen warriors. During such forays and raids, conducted with the utmost suddenness, the Creeks picked off many of the bravest scouts of the American army and put to sudden death the inmates of many lonely farm houses. Scouting parties of the whites went frequently in search of the Indians and it was during one of these excursions that Carson lost some of his bravest men. The story of Beard and his friend Tandy Walker is one filled with the wildest adventure, resulting in the death of the former at the hands of a savage. The gallant young soldier, Bradberry, who had won fame as a good fighter at Burnt Corn, also lost his life in one of these forays. In a similar manner Colonel William McGrew had been killed previously. While pursuing a party of Indians over stream and through forests and field on the northern bank of the Tombigbee, he suddenly came upon them on Bashi Creek to find them more ready for battle than he dreamed. In the severe encounter that followed the brave man with three of his company was killed. Several days later when General Claiborne with Major Hinds and the Mississippi Dragoons were marching in pursuit of the Indians, who hovered in small bodies everywhere, he found and interred with military honors the bodies of these four heroes, pioneer Mississippians who had sacrificed their lives willingly in defense of their country. The loss of such lives was a serious blow to a young Territory whose population was scant and rural community life, to a large extent, unformed.

It was during the incessant guerrilla warfare, filled with pillage and murder by the Indians in the rich river settlements along the eastern borders of the Territory, that the famous Mississippi frontiersman, Sam Dale, again appears on the stage. A native of Rockbridge County, Virginia, descended from a line of border heroes, he was well fitted to act his part in the affairs of his adopted section. Having in a measure recovered from his wounds received earlier in the war, he sought the field once more with a determination to help General Claiborne drive the Indians from the country. Colonel Carson, who had returned to Fort Madison, was prevailed on to furnish him with a sufficient force to put his plans into execution, and he was provided with a detachment of thirty Mississippi volunteers from Captain Jones' company, while forty of the Clarke County militia were detailed to accompany him in his rather hazardous adventure. The

expedition, though the soldiers were all poorly equipped and faced the late autumn days thinly clad and bare-foot, had to its credit the remarkable canoe fight on the waters of the Alabama in which four of Dale's party distinguished themselves as border heroes.

This hand to hand conflict was, perhaps one of the wildest ever staged in frontier history. For the gruesome tragedy the heavy American forest, beneath which glided the silent river, now at low water mark and wrapped in autumnal shadows, was selected. And was it not its solemn beauty appealing to their highest aspiration of a God that had made its wild, red children swear to defend it, "as long as the sun shall shine and there shall be water in the river?"

The description of the fierce struggle by local historians is filled with details of such a horrid nature that their hideous and revolting particulars will not be enumerated here, the heroic courage and devotion of the combatants of both sides being things of more moment.

Captain Dale and his little company, after putting to flight a small band of mounted Indians in the open, had formed the advance in crossing the river. Screened from view by the bank covered with tall cane, great forest trees and undergrowth, they were engaged in preparing a needed repast when they discovered gliding down the Alabama in slow, stately fashion an unusually large and handsome flat-bottomed canoe in which sat, with erect forms and dignified mien, a company of Indian warriors richly clothed in panther skins, their faces and strong bare limbs painted in the brilliant hues of the puccoon. With august decorum bearing their guns before them they were the personification of the Indian War Spirit at ceremonial moments. The solemn touch of dignity, acquired doubtlessly by long contact with the silent things of nature, vanished in a trice so soon as they discovered the Americans. They were now only painted savages filled with revenge and thirsting for the blood of the hated foe. What race, alas! has proved itself much better?

The boats of Captain Dale, which were under the command of the famous Jerry Austill, floated along the river in sight of the troopers who kept to the river bank in search of the enemy. They were near the home of the brave Dixon Bailey who had given his life in the defense of Fort Mims and the memory of that gallant soldier filled them with a hot desire to punish his slayers. Alarmed at the approach of the whites, the Indians rowed back to concealment in the

mouth of Randon Creek. Discovering that the largest part of Dale's company had crossed the river to the western bank, the canoe emerged, while anxiety and watchfulness had taken the place of proud unconcern on the faces of its occupants.

As it moved cautiously down the river Captain Dale and his little party fired upon the stately crew to which the proud warriors replied instantly, showing their readiness for battle. After several exchanges of rifle shots that resulted in little injury to either side, Captain Dale sprang into his small boat and called to his men to follow him; three instantly obeyed their leader as only this number could crowd into the tiny boat. The combatants drew nearer each other and the fight grew desperate. The fearless and valiant attacking party, besides their redoubtable captain, was composed of Jeremiah Austill, James Smith and the powerful and courageous slave Caesar, a half-breed Indian negro. This faithful creature, who had now taken charge of the little boat, rowed alongside the large canoe and with might and main held his craft in position while the battle raged. The Indians fought desperately for they knew that "Big Sam," as they called Captain Dale, was their antagonist. Many a brave story had they heard of this wonderful man both as a trader and a fighter. Still, they were not afraid to measure lances with him as was unconsciously shown in the grimly spoken challenge. "Now for it, Big Sam!" In and out of the water but more often with feet planted firmly in their boats, which the burly Caesar kept lashed together, the combatants fought with a fury known only to border warfare. When the close and deadly struggle came to an end the hero Dale found himself in the enemy's boat while eleven of the best warriors of the proud Muscogee tribe had paid the price of liberty. Both the living and the dead were covered with wounds and upon the breast of both Creek and Anglo-Saxon alike could well have been placed the Distinguished Service Cross. This hand-to-hand combat, fierce and daring as any known to history remains undimmed in comparison with the feat of the dauntless three who held the bridge in the days of ancient Rome. Henceforth Dale, Austill and Smith became names to conjure with in both Jackson's and Claiborne's army, while Caesar's desperate courage, as it was shown not only in action, but, also, in the dead silence that bound his lips broken only in his urging the use of the sword and bayonet, clearly proves

that the heroic deeds of that day were not all confined to the free races.

After the short but terrific battle, gathering up his little band, Captain Dale, whose exploits make some of the most colorful pages of Mississippi's history, marched back to Fort Madison. It was in this manner that the brave Mississippi soldiery, descended from good Revolutionary fighting stock and patriotic to the core, kept the Creeks at bay on the forks of the Tombigbee, along the Alabama, and up and down the southern frontier in the first months of the war.

General Claiborne had always felt that to rid the country of the Indians it would be necessary to deal them a concentrated blow on their own soil. He again urged General Flournoy to send him into the Creek Nation with a sufficient force to attack them in their strongholds and cripple their strength by destroying their towns. The large expedition planned by him in the early autumn had been frustrated by the over-cautious commander at Mobile whose indecision in matters of such vital importance appears little short of criminal. That General Flournoy had at last arrived at the same conclusion General Claiborne held regarding the trouble with the Creeks was very gratifying to the Mississippian, though the harsh war measures recommended by the commanding general, who had now gone to the other extreme in his views of the Indian situation, were not in keeping with Claiborne's code of ethics. Even when dealing with savages, though always to be feared in battle, no foe was ever taken undue advantage of by this knightly and kindly soul. Throughout the months of September, October and November, he had been busy in the Southern District, his brave volunteers fighting daily battles and guarding the defenceless inhabitants from sudden slaughter. With him for much of the time was Major Thomas Hinds and his eager-hearted Dragoons. These were taking their first lessons in warfare, a game in which they were destined to play a shining part in the very drama that was now being enacted. Even at this time their commander was becoming conspicuous for his courage and initiative, and of him General Claiborne confidently said to the old border hero Sam Dale "When you see danger ahead take Hinds with you."

At this place will be enumerated a number of fierce battles and encounters with the Creeks in which Jackson's troops were engaged. No truer nor more intrepid soldiery ever went out in defense of their

country than the volunteer troops of Tennessee, and we rear on this page a signal monument to these defenders and lovers of liberty.

But one cannot forget that border warfare of the severest nature had been conducted by troops of the Mississippi Territory throughout the Southern District before General Jackson's forces fought at Tallussahatchie, and that Mississippians in this section were everywhere engaged in the defense of the Republic. Even in the ranks of Jackson's own army, especially in the 3rd United States Regulars, large numbers of Mississippi troops had enlisted. Recruiting stations were established at several points in the Territory, and volunteers from the Mississippi Territory entered various commands and were largely instrumental in winning the victories that perched on the American banners in this section.

Jackson's campaign against the Creeks during the months of October and November opened with the battle of Tallussahatchie. A successful attack had been made at Littefutchie led by Colonel Dyer with 200 cavalry sent out by General Jackson from Fort Deposit, where he had established headquarters, and foraging parties had captured a few Indians and negroes who were camp-followers of Weatherford's army. The Creeks learning that Jackson was near by, hastily collected their forces at the town of Tallussahatchie a short distance from his headquarters. After locating the town and the extent of its defense, General Jackson sent Brigadier-General Coffee with 1000 men to destroy the place. Half of the troops were to constitute the attacking party while the rest reconnoitered the Ten-Island country as preliminary to future movements. The Tennesseans were well supplied with good rifles and were in their best fighting mood. A picturesque band of Creeks and Cherokees friendly to the whites, arrayed in the white head-dress which was their emblem of peace, led Coffee's men against the war party. The battle began at sunrise, the turbulent savages rushing out amid war-whoops and the beating of drums, their prophets breathing vengeance upon the invaders and on any of Indian blood who assisted them. They fought a losing fight without asking quarter from their well-armed foes. Not one would desert the field, but men, women and children all perished with their city. On November 3, 1813, General Jackson wrote to Governor Blount of Tennessee relative to the battle, "We have retaliated for the destruction of Fort Mims." In his report of the same day General Coffee said, "Not one

of the warriors escaped to carry the news." The feat might be compared with the brave old deeds that marked Alexander's or Hannibal's campaigns, but wherefore?

Following the successful attack on the Indians by General Coffee, on November 3, 1813, General Jackson moved to Ten-Island where he erected Fort Strother. With an army of 1200 infantry and 1800 cavalry the 3rd United States Regulars being recruited with Mississippians, he moved on the town of Talladega, 30 miles away, where he raised the siege then going on at that place.

The town having been the rendezvous of a large number of Creeks friendly to the Americans was now beleaguered by wrathful Creek prophets who, for all their magic and black art, were no match for the astute disciple of peace who clothed in a shaggy hogskin passed through their ranks at night on all fours from the invested city. Grunting and rooting his way out of the town he bounded to his feet and fled to Jackson's camp to implore aid from that mighty pale-face. The Tennesseans received their envoy with shouts of laughter and applause and straightway marched to the relief of the besieged redskins who—and here the laughter dies down into a sigh—passed out of the city over the bleeding bodies of one thousand dead warriors who had given their lives in defense of their race and civilization.

Writing of this battle to General Claiborne, General Jackson said:

It is impossible to tell with any precision the loss they sustained. We counted, however, 209 dead on the field but this is known to fall considerably short of the number really killed. Could I have followed up that victory immediately the Creek War before this had been terminated but I was compelled by a double cause—the want of supplies and the want of coöperation from the East Tennessee troops—to return to this place.

A strong jealousy, historians all agree, existed between the East Tennessee and the West Tennessee troops which interfered at times with Jackson's operations in the Creek War, and explains this reference in his letter to the East Tennessee troops. Near the close of his letter to Claiborne, General Jackson makes this suggestive statement:

It is not understood by the Government that this war is to be confined to mere temporary incursions into the enemy's country. Such movements might distress them but would produce none of those lasting and beneficial effects which I design to be produced.

On November 18, 1813, occurred what Halbert rightfully calls the

"Hillabee Massacre."²⁴ That staid historian characterizes it as a "deplorable action" and it was, indeed, little else than butchery. For American toops to have made war on a lower plane than did the savages was a poor expression of the Christian civilization claimed by the superior race. Negotiations were then pending for the surrender of the Hillabees, and it was a rude awakening for the helpless creatures, generally faithful to their vows, to find that "their scrap of paper" had been cast to the winds by the great Jackson. It is sincerely hoped that they located the right source on which to lay the blame. That Generals Cocke and White did not possess Jackson's and Claiborne's ideals is clearly shown in the reports of the Hillabee affair. While the spirit with which the two last mentioned waged war was as stern and invincible as Caesar's or Napoleon's, humanity and its kindlier purpose can be clearly discerned in their treatment of the helpless savages when at their mercy. Whenever an act on the part of the troops commanded by either of these great leaders took the form of mere butchery such conduct always received his severe condemnation. Both welcomed every honorable sign of surrender on the part of the Creeks and the flag of truce was borne more than once to the strongholds of the Muscogees.

That the Indians in some places were still having civil war among themselves and were in large numbers joining the party friendly to the whites is found in their scant records of the war. Still the spirit of self-preservation united the main part of the Creek Nation in a great army to resist with the most heroic efforts both Jackson and Claiborne. Notwithstanding desertions from their ranks this spirit grew stronger each day and inch by inch until finally overcome they resisted the despoilers of their towns and villages.

It was during the last week of autumn on November 29 that General Floyd with 950 Georgia militia supported by two friendly Indian chieftains, Mad-dog and Tookabatchee, with their following

²⁴ This battle was fought by General White with a thousand men of Major General Cocke's division of East Tennessee troops who carried out General Cocke's orders to attack the town while the Hillabee Indians were arranging terms with General Jackson for its surrender. As Jackson was regarded as the commander-in-chief of the Tennessee army one can readily understand why the Hillabees accused him of bad faith. His differences with General John Cocke who had brought a body of East Tennessee troops into the Mississippi Territory and the lack of co-operation with him on the part of that General do not bear particularly upon the main story but may be found in full in Parton's *Life of Andrew Jackson*, Vol. I.

of about 400 warriors attacked the town of Autossee one of the most attractive on the south bank of the beautiful and historic Tallapoosa. The city was situated near the Hickory Ground and the union of the Coosa. In the battle which also partook largely of a massacre the town was completely destroyed with several other inland villages, notable among them the Apple-grove, the birth-place of the renowned half-breed chieftain William McGillivray whose descendants were equally divided between the contending forces. In many of these skirmishes the fights assumed the proportions of real battle. The Indians whose country was being invaded and desolated were now fighting for the preservation of their race, homes and hunting-grounds and though savage and untutored, they were as much attached to their native heath as the Anglo-Saxon had ever been to his. While now rarely on the aggressive, as they had been earlier in the war, at Fort Mims and throughout the Southern District, no fiercer resistance was ever offered by a people than that with which they met Jackson when attacked on their own soil, and by superior numbers. To them by this time "Captain Jackson," as they called him, had loomed into a mysterious and prodigious power of evil to do them harm. But even as formidable as he appeared the Hillabee did not shrink from him in battle and more than once boasted of having put him to flight. In every encounter they met him with the indomitable spirit of a free people. The Georgians, too, led by General Floyd through the beautiful Callabee Valley, heard the sharp twang of their bows and felt the sting of their arrows.

At his camp at Pine Level in Clarke County General Claiborne received orders on November 10, from General Flournoy to quit that post for another field of action. Sharing his burning desire to make Pensacola the objective point, it was with eagerness that his troops broke camp on November 13, and moved forward to Weatherford's Bluff where they were to make preparations for General Jackson looking to an attack on Pensacola which was now believed by all to be the seat of trouble. On November 17, Claiborne crossed the Alabama River and halted at Weatherford's Bluff. Here his troops, cheerful despite the scantiness of food and clothing, fortified themselves for future action, Pushmataha's warriors practicing daily with the new rifles given them at Fort Madison, and, if tradition can be trusted, sallying forth to take a view of Burnt Corn, the fame of

which had spread far into the Choctaw Nation. It was in a spirit of exultation that the great chieftain claimed that he put to flight a party of Creeks whom he found occupying the famous battle-ground.

After constructing a strong fort to which his soldiers gave his magnetic name, Claiborne wrote to Governor Holmes giving him an account of the concentration of his troops and announcing his determination to intercept and break connection between the Indians and Pensacola. A letter, also, went to General Jackson congratulating him on his victories in the northern district and still another went to Governor Holmes expressing a fervent desire that all the troops should be hurled against Pensacola.²⁸

The last battle of the year 1813 was to fall to General Claiborne and his Mississippi volunteer regiments. Carrying out his long cherished desire, he gathered a strong force about him composed almost entirely of Mississippi soldiery and a number of Louisiana volunteers and confided to them his determination to march to the enemy's capital. This fortress of two hundred houses, fortified after the Indian manner, bore the sacred name of Econachaca called, also, "Ikanchaka," the Holy Ground. "The fortress and town were erected" says the Mississippi historian, Claiborne, "by Weatherford on the south bank of the Alabama 125 miles from Fort Claiborne just after the massacre of Fort Mims." It was designed for a safe haven for the Creeks in time of trouble. A rude citadel, planted on a little peninsula jutting out into the river and set in the deep forest, it was surrounded on the land side by marshes, slashes and bayous. To it no path ran that the foot of the white man had ever trod. Guarded by 10,000 ungoverned and rampant savages, it yet—notwithstanding its wizard circles and the incantations of its holy men—was not im-

²⁸ In his letter to Governor Holmes Claiborne said:

"I am now on the east bank of the Alabama, thirty-five miles above Mims, and in the best part of the enemy's country. From this position we cut the savages off from the river, and from their growing crops. We likewise render their communication with Pensacola more hazardous. Here will be deposited for the use of General Jackson, a supply of provisions, and I hope I shall be ordered to co-operate with him. Colonel Russell of the Third U. S. Infantry has been ordered to co-operate with the Georgia troops, and is now on his march to this place. We have by several excursions alarmed the Indians, and the possession of this important position will induce them to retire. I have with me Pushmataha, who, with fifty-one warriors, accompanied by Lieutenant Calahan of the volunteers, will march this morning and take up a position to intercept more effectually the communication of the enemy with Pensacola."

penetrable to the conquering race that now sought it. It was here that, with the spirit of the Inquisition, the "Prophet" Francis ordered all prisoners to be burned at the stake, and it was here he boasted that no enemy of the Creek could tread without being blasted by the hand of the Great Spirit.

Unlike Weatherford, for whose fairness and courage he had always had respect, Francis had ever been an object of aversion to General Claiborne and to punish this heartless and wily fanatic in his own stronghold and put an end forever to his flummeries and wizardry was an undertaking espoused with as fervid zeal as ever fired the breast of a twelfth century knight. Every soldier in his command when fully acquainted with his purpose manifested his aspiration and battle spirit. Smarting under the injustice and petty spite of censorious critics and seeing in the expedition the adventure to which they had long looked forward, with spirits overflowing with love of adventure and patriotic fervor, the invincible volunteers, though their terms of enlistment had expired and the prospect was anything but inviting, voluntarily re-enlisted in the service.

While some of Claiborne's officers at first opposed an expedition into the Creek country, going so far as to petition him to desist from what seemed merely a quixotic enterprise, they concluded their petition with the soldierly utterance that "Be your decision what it may we shall cheerfully obey your orders and carry out your plans." The objections set forth in the memorial were of such a compelling nature that a purpose less firm than Claiborne's would have been shaken. The memorial drew his attention to the facts that it was winter and the cold, soaking rains had set in; the unknown and untrodden wilderness must be traversed; the impossibility of taking any supplies with them; the present condition of his army, without clothes, shoes or blankets—these and a number of other reasons, perhaps the most urgent and pathetic being that a total failure of crops that year had left their families in a destitute condition, were sufficient, it would seem, to have cooled his ardor for the expedition against the Creeks. But notwithstanding all this and the fact that the Tennessee troops and all others engaged in the service usually went home at the expiration of their term of enlistment, when Claiborne gave the order to break camp every man flew to his gun and took his place in the line of march.

On the morning of December 13, Fort Claiborne was abandoned and the Mississippi army at their trusted General's command moved forward towards the Creek capital to confront not only the bitter Francis but the fierce Weatherford himself.³⁶ The frontier army of 1000 patriots was made up of Colonel Joseph Carson's Regiment of Mississippi Volunteers, the 3rd United States Regiment of Infantry, largely supplied with Mississippians, Major Cassell's valiant battalion of horse, a battalion of militia commanded by Major Benjamin Smoot in which Patrick May, Sam Dale, Creagh and Heard, border fighters who had already won their *croix de guerre*, were officers. These with 150 fine Choctaw warriors under the celebrated Pushmataha made up Claiborne's army. To this deft and adroit chieftain, now a brigadier-general in the United States Army, is due much of the enthusiasm with which the Choctaws participated in the invasion of the Creek country. The Mississippi volunteers were in gay, good humor, forgetting all their discomforts and anxieties once they were on the road. The army, represented by many of the best families of the Mississippi Territory bore itself with due appreciation of the fact. It boasted mainly Revolutionary ancestry and the young men possessed much of the manner and air of the cavalier. Through the pathless deep woods its columns wound their way, maintaining a martial bearing that would have compared favorably with that of any frontier army in the history of America. Much in the light of a crusader its valiant commander appeared imbued as he was with the spirit of freedom and filled with a sacred desire to plant the Cross of Christianity in the strongholds of the pagan.

On December 23, the troops approached the Holy City. Even as they advanced upon it prisoners both white and half-breeds were being bound to the stake awaiting the fagot and torch. The Indians, notwithstanding their claim of perfect security within their Holy of Holies, at the approach of Claiborne's army hurriedly began beating the war-drums and gathering their numerous forces into battle-line. The Mississippians could hear the heavy roll of drums as they entered the outskirts of the town. Through the swamps and over the bayous

³⁶ It is thought by Halbert after close investigation that Weatherford was never present at any battle but that of the Holy Ground after the Massacre of Fort Mims, though he does not hold to this opinion, in his sketch of Weatherford written many years before his later researches.

and lagoons surrounding the city the whole army steadily pushed its way, General Claiborne riding at the head of the cavalry. The troops behaved with great credit, Major Smoot especially on entering bearing himself in true military form. Major Cassells commanding mounted riflemen, alone suffered some criticism as to the manner of stationing his troops.

The subtle and inscrutable Weatherford ordinarily humane and mitigative but now cold and set in purpose and true to the maternal strain led his people in battle. In this splendid creature Claiborne met a foe not to be contemned.

The Creeks had done everything possible to make the Holy Ground impregnable but not even the fearless and daring Weatherford himself, whose personality fascinated them as no other, nor all the enchantments and sorceries of the "Prophet" Francis could save the sacred city from destruction. Actuated, if not by some premonition of danger, by a purpose well worthy of comment, they had removed their women and children to a place of safety across the river in a secluded, densely wooded covert that should, in connection with the Holy Ground, be marked by the patriotic societies of Alabama.

As Claiborne's troops poured into the city along the left bank of the river, the center column under Colonel Carson curving outward like a crescent, each face hard and set was filled with a purpose that could not be mistaken. For days they had marched through mud and water covering the flat, pine marshes while the bitter winds of late December chilled their half-clad bodies to the bone; still they did not flinch nor quail at the wild demoniacal clamor of the savages preparing for battle within the town. Amid a frenzied outburst of shouts and yells and beating of drums, the Creek warriors rushed out to meet the Americans, while smaller detachments from covert and ambushade everywhere suddenly sprang forward and poured a discharge of rifle bullets into Carson's advancing ranks.²⁷ From the heavy log breastworks Indian gunmen continued to fire. These were more to be dreaded than those armed with bows and arrows whose misdirected missiles fell harmlessly into the ranks of Carson's companies in spite of the fierce and urgent commands of the sorcerers and prophets in

²⁷ Weatherford knew the Creek manner of fighting and did not try to restrain the noise in their preparation for battle though he himself was not given to savage customs.

their midst. These Creek seers and oracles have been described by historians as rushing about frantically, uttering piercing screams, while madly waving in each hand a cow's tail dyed a brilliant scarlet. Retiring suddenly behind some wall or structure, as if to work a spell, they would suddenly return to the open to urge with renewed vehemence their people to withstand the foe. It was, however, for their entire nation as well as for the Holy City, for which the Indians now fought, and not until the galling fire from Claiborne's men had begun to decimate their ranks did they begin a retreat. Not even then did they suddenly fall back but slowly, stubbornly, fighting desperately with their fruitless weapons at every turn and twist of the battle. Again and again they rushed forward to thrust the invaders from the sacred city, finally to waver and fall back as the American rifles were solidly turned on them, not only by Carson's men but by Claiborne's entire army, every column of which was now pressing into the town. Still the Indians rallied and resisted the foe. As the Americans pressed them backward a sure aim from a soldier in the ranks toppled over a richly arrayed prophet wildly leading a charge. Here and there, these gorgeously robed creatures with arms upraised in frantic gestures were suddenly swept to the earth by American gunmen.

As the Creeks advanced with a last sudden fury, Carson let his men go and soon all that was left of the pomp and glory of the haughty Red Sticks vanished and they turned and wildly fled, Claiborne's army pursuing and driving them through the town and out by the river.

Weatherford was the last of the defeated host to quit the battle field. While his warriors were fleeing in confusion, seeking the cane-brake and deep woods, he lingered to proudly cast a look of scorn at his assailants, then instantly mounted his fleet-footed "Arrow" and disappeared from their view. For the sake of its color and action we give here Major Dreisback's glowing picture rather than Woodward's skeptical account of Weatherford's leap into the Alabama on his faithful warhorse as he left the invaded and reduced Creek capital whose temples had been cast down and whose streets were red, as we view it, with the blood merely of heathen prophets. Describing the daring leap, which could well have served for an incident in a thrilling romance of Scott, Dreisback says:

When Weatherford found that most of his warriors had deserted him, he thought of his own safety. Finding himself hedged in above and below on the river, he determined to cross the Alabama. He was mounted on a horse of almost matchless strength and fleetness and with the swiftness of the wind turned down a long hollow that led to the bank of the river; on his arrival he found the bluff about twelve feet high; he took in at a glance the situation and determined to make the leap. He rode back about thirty paces and turned his horse's head towards the bluff, and then, with touch of the spur and the sharp 'ho ya' of his voice, he put the noble animal to the top of his speed and dashed over the bluff full twenty feet into the flashing waters below, which opened its bosom to receive the dauntless hero, who sought its sparkling waves as a barrier between him and the pursuing foe. He did not lose his seat; his horse and the lower part of his own body went entirely under the water, he holding his rifle high above his head. The gallant horse struck out for the opposite shore with his fearless rider upon his back. When he had advanced some thirty yards from the shore, the balls from the guns of the troopers who were above and below him began to spatter around him like hail, but it appeared that the "Great Spirit" watched over him, for not a shot struck either man or horse. As soon as he reached the farther shore he dismounted and took off his saddle and examined his brave and noble horse to see if he had been struck. One shot had cut off a bunch or lock of the horse's mane just in front of the saddle. Finding his noble "Arrow" unhurt, he resaddled him and mounted, and sending back a note of defiance, rode off, to fight again on other ensanguined fields.

When Claiborne had conquered the Holy Ground and had driven out its inhabitants—both prophet and warrior, he occupied it with his soldiers for a few hours during which the Choctaws under Pushmataha were given the privilege of possessing themselves of the victor's spoils, the white soldiery now embittered by memories of Creek atrocities disdaining to appropriate to themselves anything that belonged to the savages. Their passing disdain turned into horror and bitter invective when they discovered in the public square of the Holy City a tall pine pole from which was suspended the scalps of those who had been murdered at Fort Mims. From this gruesome object hung the curly scalp of the infant and its mother's long braids intermingling with the hoary locks of the aged. The letter, too, found in Weatherford's house, in which Governor Manique of Pensacola congratulated him upon the victory of Fort Mims, filled them with renewed purpose to stamp out the Creek Nation.

After ordering the torch to be applied to the town and reducing it to ashes, Claiborne with his army swept the whole territory in which the Holy Ground was located, destroying all towns, villages, farms and boats that were to be found.

With Claiborne's forces pursuing and laying waste the country the Indians began losing strength. The fairest possessions of the Nation were now in ruins. But even with their hopes shattered and their im-

perial strength ebbing, they still, though rarely themselves giving battle, fought heroically in defense of their lives and strongholds. While they continued to the last to fight with spirit and at times with the greatest valor, their champion, Weatherford, must have realized that he was the leader of a lost cause since, according to some of the best authorities, he never after the destruction of the Holy Ground appeared on the battle field.

Writing of the victory J. F. H. Claiborne says:

The moral effect of this bold movement into the heart of the nation upon ground held sacred and impregnable, was great. It taught the savages that they were neither inaccessible nor invulnerable; it destroyed their confidence in their prophets, and it proved what volunteers, even without shoes, clothing, blankets, or provisions would do for their country.

The news of the fall of the capital of the Creek Nation instantly spread all over the country, from house to house and town to town, and everywhere on the frontiers in camp and in assembly halls, Claiborne's victory was applauded and celebrated, bonfires flaming along the whole eastern frontier and far into the interior of the Mississippi Territory. Not even the great Jackson had won so distinctive a victory, nor had he, as yet, met Weatherford anywhere on the battle-field. The signal victory of Holy Ground, however, was not to be without its sacrifice. The men were returning to Camp Vernon in a pitiable condition, half naked, bare-footed and hungry, to face a failure of crops on arriving home. On Christmas Day they with their beloved General had dined on parched corn and boiled acorns. He was returning with them broken in health from exposure, and suffering from wounds from which he never recovered. On January 14, 1814, he had written from Camp Mount Vernon.

My volunteers are returning to their homes with eight months' pay due them and almost literally naked. They have served the last three months of inclement winter weather without shoes or blankets, almost without shirts, but are still devoted to their country and properly impressed with the justice and the necessity of the war.

But notwithstanding the gloomy side of the picture, the fact that the capital of the Creek Nation had been conquered and razed allayed all fears for the present. It is a question, after the destruction of Holy Ground, whether the Indians would have left their own country to make further open war on the whites or whether what has been called the decisive battle of Horseshoe Bend was necessary to draw

from them a surrender. It is very certain, however, that they would have continued to give aid to the British.

Larger dangers than the trouble with the Indians were now looming up before the young American Republic, and Jackson's last expedition against them was only a foreword to his coast campaign against Great Britain whose fleet and army had been hovering near to encourage and aid the Creeks as a preliminary of their own design. Viewed from any standpoint Jackson's presence in the Mississippi Territory seems providential at this crisis of the American government. Had New Orleans been captured by the British, which would have been certain had he not been present, the entire Southern Coast, irrespective of any treaty, would have temporarily become a British possession.

After the battle of Holy Ground had been fought by Claiborne, General Jackson, having to his own credit a number of brilliant exploits during the autumn, with a small army remained on the battle-front and continued to make war on the Indians.³⁸ Many of his troops had returned home, some had mutinied outright, and for the time being the skies looked dark, but the shrewd and indomitable hero holding steadily to his main purpose continued to clear his path of all obstacles. He pursued and harried the Creeks through forest and over water, in nearly every encounter overwhelming and punishing them severely. The various collisions and skirmishes that occurred between the Americans and Weatherford's party after Jackson invaded their country in the Spring of 1814 have been briefly sketched not that they bear on or answer any main question involved, but simply in order to follow the path of war to Pensacola where the British, with a great naval force gathered in the South Seas, were anxiously watching the Creek uprising. Following the hard fighting near Amukfau Creek, where the Indians made an all day but vain attack on the invading American forces, and the fierce encounter at the Hillabee village of Enitachopoco, where they continued their efforts to drive Jackson and his army out of the Creek country, both sides prepared for what proved to be the final battle between the two warring nations. The Enitachopoco fight must have elated and given

³⁸ It was at this time, when his men had nearly all returned home, that he employed in his service a number of Cherokees, also a large party of Creeks who had opposed the war.

the Indians great satisfaction since it was here that they proudly boasted that they "ran Captain Jackson into the Coosa River," a dilemma virtually admitted by the Americans.

The conclusive battle of Tohopeka, or Horseshoe Bend, which occurred March 27, 1814, had yet to be fought, some authorities think, before the proud Weatherford would replace the red plume in his head-dress with a white one. Slight victories in the Callabee swamps and especially the victory over Floyd during the month of January had heartened the Indians, and with high hope of driving the Americans out of their country they gathered in full force to meet Jackson on the Tallapoosa. The Tennessee troops, as has been stated, had been constantly returning home and Jackson during the winter had been left at times with a straggling army with which to meet the foe. In February he was amply reinforced by fresh troops from Tennessee and many volunteers from the Mississippi Territory seeking adventure under the famous Indian fighter, who had set himself a task in the accomplishment of which the Creek Indians must be practically exterminated.

The Coosa River was the scene of stirring military action throughout the month of March, a large number of troops camping on or near its banks. When drilling and especially when on parade, clad in white trousers and dark blue coats, the army made an imposing spectacle in the heart of the bare, gray wilderness. It was about this time that still another force from Tennessee made its way to the Mississippi Territory for the purpose of aiding Jackson in his last effort to break the remaining strength of the Red Sticks, whose late stubborn resistance and brilliant exploits had surprised and embarrassed the Americans. Nettled by the Indians' triumphant boasts, Jackson's army was daily augmented by volunteer troops and he soon found himself at the head of a large force well supplied and ready to go against not only the Creeks but to move at any time on the British lurking about Pensacola.

For their last stand the Creeks had chosen a place they called "Tohopeka" which occupied a peninsula containing about one hundred acres in the bend of the lovely Tallapoosa. It was also called in their own wild, sweet tongue "Cholocco Litabixbee"—the Horseshoe—on account of its shape. The stronghold was prepared and defended in such a manner that, when no longer secure, it could be

easily evacuated and, as Pickett observes, "was admirably adapted by Nature for security if well guarded but equally for destruction if not well defended." Safe within their peninsula fastness, which had been fortified by a strong breastwork constructed of heavy logs across the neck of land connecting it with the mainland, they determined to defend it at every cost, and if failing, to escape by way of the river where hundreds of large canoes had been moored for that purpose near the town proper. It was blustering March weather but the trees though still skeletons, were slightly budding, and a variety of early spring flowers were in bloom in the Tallapoosa Bend when Jackson appeared before the town. The Indians were ready for his approach. The Hillabee warriors led the defense and were bitter in retaliation for the cruel manner in which Generals Cocke and White had ignored their proposals of surrender, a misunderstanding for which Jackson was now suffering. With the Hillabees were the warriors of the following towns: Ocfuske, Oakchoie, New Yanca, the Fish Pond, Hickory Ground and Eufaulahatche, numbering about one thousand. Weatherford was not present, yet it cannot be doubted that his faithful warriors and prophets had been fully instructed by him as to the course to pursue.

With the exception of the massive breastwork erected with both British and Spanish aid General Jackson regarded the Muscogee defenses, though artfully planned from the standpoint of the Creeks, as little better than the work of children, and on examining them exclaimed regretfully, "They have penned themselves up for slaughter!" Conscious of the fate that awaited them he immediately sent a flag of truce toward the town but the proud Hillabees with an outburst of scornful hoots and yells fired upon it. The Americans then, without hesitating, prepared for battle. General Coffee, now a well-known figure in the war with the Creeks, crossed the Tallapoosa and stationed his troops so as to have a full sweep at the peninsula, an astute design well executed that the Red Sticks were not expecting. With Coffee's troops in position, Jackson pressed hard against the breastworks and with two pieces of cannon began to fiercely bombard the Creek fortress. But it was only after a number of fierce advances and pounding of guns that he began to weaken the fortifications. For several hours he stormed the breastworks to be repulsed again and again, and more than once Jackson, Coffee, Russell, Morgan and many

others commanding the American forces recoiled at the furious charge of the enemy before the town was taken. In vain for a while did Jackson's riflemen approach the port-holes while his cannon belabored the works with renewed energy. The gallant Tennesseans mounted and strove upon the breastworks to finally dye them with American blood as a number of the advance guard led by the brave Major Montgomery and Lieutenants Moulton and Somerville, who fell in the attempt, gained an entrance into the town. In a last effort to go over the breastworks and enter the town, Ensign Sam Houston of Tennessee, who years later became governor of Texas, though wounded, led the way. In the meantime General Coffee had destroyed the canoes on the river and set fire to the town which was soon a sheet of flame. Seeing the pitiable plight of the Indians, wedged in between his own forces and Coffee's with the town each moment becoming a furnace, Jackson again dispatched a messenger to assure them of American favor if they would surrender. Once more the proud Muscogees disdained his overtures and amid yells of derision and a discharge of fire-arms proclaimed that they had no faith in the pale faces who had broken faith with them. The Indians, though sorely beset on all sides, asked for no quarter but went to their death with as sublime heroism as was ever shown by the Caucasian on any battlefield where life was the price to be paid for liberty. When once the Americans had gained an entrance into the city both sides fought like wild beasts, the bayonet in the white man's hand in the end proving too much for the gallant bowmen who, too proud to sue for quarter and in many instances wounded for life, scattered in confusion, fleeing in every direction through the swamps, over sloughs and bayous and across the river, leaving only a trail of blood to mark the course of their flight. The peninsula was literally strewn with their dead bodies; the rifle and bayonet had done their worst; but it took, says Brewer, "the combined power of the whites, the Cherokees, Chickasaws and Choctaws, assisted by a large party of their own people, to subjugate them." It was now that the haughty spirit of the Muscogee was crushed and subdued if not wholly extinguished; but not until Valkyrie had borne to the happy hunting-ground some brave Manowa who, to all dwellers there, would embody the spirit of the Creek, did this powerful Indian nation yield to its fate.

The evening shadows had enveloped the land when the battle of

Tallapoosa Bend came to a close and the flames that destroyed the citadel had died down to embers. The Horsehoe was a heap of ashes; the mighty Red Sticks were no more; and their last fortress had become their burial ground, not more than twenty, says Jackson, having escaped. Now ready to surrender on any terms, they crept from hiding-place and covert throughout the nation and bent their proud necks to the dominion of the white race whose civilization had proved too strong for theirs. And though they continued foemen, it was with but few exceptions that they gave further practical aid to their old allies the British.

Some historians denounce this last battle as a massacre—a riot of butchery equal to Fort Mims. Whether this be true or not, it is evident that Jackson, though humane himself in victory, was on this occasion unable to restrain his troops. These, forgetting that a brave people had died for the sake of their homes and country and while recoiling in horror and disgust from the savage practice of scalping a foe overcome by hate and revenge, had no hesitancy in cutting the noses from the faces of the dead warriors as they covered, like a winding-sheet, the sacred soil of their fathers.

In the defense of Horsehoe Bend the Creeks numbered about 1000. Historians disagree about the number that escaped and also about the number engaged in battle. Pickett thinks that not more than 200 escaped while he places the army's strength at 1000. The Indians, in nearly every instance, had proved to be poor marksmen and Jackson lost only 32 men, 99 having been wounded. Among the dead were several brave spirits who had been close to their fiery-hearted and devoted commander and it was in keeping with his fervent and loyal nature to pour out his grief in passionate lament over the loss of the heroic young Virginian, Major L. P. Montgomery, of the 39th Regiment, who was the first to mount the breastworks at Tallapoosa Bend to fall with sword in hand while urging his men to take the stronghold. His dead body drew from the stern soldier the tribute of tears as he, with romantic fervor that calls to mind King Arthur, pronounced him "the flower" of all his brave army.³⁹

³⁹ Major Lemuel Purnell Montgomery was a native of Wythe County, Virginia, and was descended from patriotic Revolutionary ancestors. His biographer states that the county of Montgomery, Alabama, was named in honor of him while the capital of the State preserves in its name the memory of his father General Montgomery who fell at the storming of Quebec.

The bloody battle of the Horseshoe having become a thing of yesterday, General Jackson left the Tallapoosa and placed his army in line of march and on April 2 found himself at Fort Williams, a fort that he had erected on his march thither.

Jackson's army moved forward with such provisions as the men could carry, the constant rains making it impossible to transport heavy supplies through the rough wilderness. The terrified Creeks fled before his march in every direction, many stopping on the roadside to surrender, while others made their way to Pensacola to join the British, and some going into Florida. Jackson in victory was neither revengeful nor vindictive and the Indians found in their adversary one who, while he had slight faith in their integrity, was ready in every instance to sympathize with them in misfortune. Their appeals for succor and aid now touched him, and their wretched condition was relieved in every possible manner. He was pardonably elated over his success in reducing the Creek Nation and was profuse in praise of his troops. If the jealousy and lack of co-operation evinced by Colonel Milton commanding the eastern troops with several Carolina companies at Decatur across the Tallapoosa annoyed him, and General Cocke's attitude had given him much concern, his victory fully compensated for any want of appreciation or petty clashes incident to his campaign. His fame as an Indian fighter was secure. Tennessee regarded him as her most renowned soldier and eagerly set about to furnish troops for his future expeditions. Governor Holmes of the Mississippi Territory and General Ferdinand L. Claiborne always regarded him with every expression of esteem and confidence and their admiration for him as a soldier was no less ardent than that which characterized the entire soldiery of the Mississippi Territory who were now ready to follow him to any point designated to meet the British. By the Creek Indians whom he had conquered and almost destroyed as a nation he was regarded as some strange and great being endowed with supernatural power.

Not only Jackson but his entire army won fame in the Creek war and Governor Holmes in a letter to Governor Blount generously wrote as follows respecting the aid of the Tennessee troops:

The conduct of the State of Tennessee upon every occasion when our Territory has been menaced by an enemy, entitles that member of the Union to our peculiar gratitude; but the patriotism evinced by their statesmen, soldiers, and citizens, upon the late occasion of the disasters which happened on the Eastern frontier,

exhibited a magnanimity of character and a national sensibility, worthy of being emulated by all who justly estimate that pride of Country so essential to the maintenance of those rights which the constitution of the United States was intended to secure and to perpetuate.

From their armies now acting against the enemy, we have every thing to expect that distinguished talents, courage, a love of country and a laudable desire for fame and honor can promise.

The British still hoped to enlist the Creeks in their service and did to some extent use them as land forces, but the peace party in the Creek Nation was greatly strengthened by Jackson's victory, many of them becoming open adherents of the American cause. Whether his invasion of the Creek Nation was necessary or not in perfecting a treaty with them after General Claiborne's victory at Holy Ground, it should be again noted that as a preliminary for the coast operations against the British it was a valuable factor in shaping and strengthening that campaign. Jackson was not willing to take any chances and felt that the only way to prevent the Indians from giving aid to the British was to completely break their strength and render them helpless. He foresaw the storm gathering on the Southern Coast and not as long as the British hovered about Pensacola and Mobile did he believe that the American Republic in this section was safe.

Before leaving the Tallapoosa country which had now become historic, General Jackson who, though usually of a practical enough cast of mind, possessed a deep undercurrent of the finest and richest sentiment, displayed his strong patriotism and nationalism in a pleasing manner. On striking camp he took occasion to plant the American colors on the spot where a century before under the orders of Cadillac had been erected Fort Toulouse⁴⁰ when the French were in possession of the country. The old French garrison became the site of new fort manned with a strong block-house and outer walls. The fort received the name Jackson, and it was here that large deputations of Creek warriors constantly came to make formal surrender. The daring and utterly fearless Weatherford, dark, sinewy and tall, shrewd and eloquent and handsome after the manner of the half-breed, was the most conspicuous figure, next to Jackson, at the fort. Though a Creek in every instinct and aspiration, he affected little of the manners and customs of his people. His dress, of the pioneer variety and fashion, had none of the barbaric adornment characteris-

⁴⁰ This fort was on the Coosa four miles above its junction with the Tallapoosa near Wetumpka.

tic of the Indian civilization. But no warrior among them, not even a prophet, though he could in their sight perform miracles, could sway the heart of the Red Sticks so completely as the tall Red Eagle whose haughty bearing, set off with a wild, free grace, and shrewd and eloquent speech, held for them a charm acknowledged for few others. With a daring inconceivable he suddenly appeared at the fort on a splendid charger, a deer killed on the way swung across his saddle. General Jackson, while regarding him as the evil genius of the war and having ordered his capture on sight, in the end, was completely charmed with his romantic appearance and magnetic personality. Though furious at this bold appearance before his very *marquée*, the American General, whose whole life reveals the fact that he was not without a keen appreciation of the pure romanticism of all high exploit and adventure, could but acknowledge the superb courage of the splendid creature whose scorn of risk and danger or shrewd dissembling, whichever it may have been, won for him a soldier's protection. Many of the more peaceful, or as the case might be, timorous, Creek warriors feared and hated the haughty half-breed, and it was with a spirit of childish exultation and revenge that Big Warrior,⁴¹ high in the graces of General Jackson as he now thought himself, forecast the doom of the Red Eagle. "We've got you now, Bill Weatherford!" coming from such a source stung the haughty half breed as no word of condemnation from Jackson could have done. However, concerned with weightier matters, after anathematizing the source of the insult, he cast a look of scorn upon the traitor, as he termed him, and turned to confront his conqueror. Eye-witnesses aver that he faced Jackson with perfect composure, proudly calling himself a Creek warrior and telling him that if it were possible he would continue to make war upon him. His speech was full of fair-spoken words and worthy appeals. He asked for naught for himself but what they chose to deal him, but for the helpless Creek women and children he craved assistance and protection. Having thus touched Jackson's heart for a worthy object, he received the benefit that is often conferred on the espouser of noble aims and purposes even though he be insincere in his purpose. The chord he struck in the great Jackson's heart was always keenly alive. It was with secret elation that the shrewd Weatherford perceived the stern features of his adversary relax,

⁴¹ The chieftain who refused to unite with Tecumseh to aid the British.

feeling that, though the rank and file clamored for his instant death, he had charmed his great foe whose remarkable ability for hard-heartedness and soft-heartedness had always been equally characteristic.

The presentation by Weatherford of the deer he had slain, and a glass of brandy by Jackson concluded the hospitality of the fort, and it was with a look of "By the Eternal!" darkening his worn, sallow face that he signified that none present should harm a hair of Weatherford's head.⁴² In this manner the terms of surrender proceeded.

⁴² The following story, concerning William Weatherford, by Prof. H. S. Halbert, a leading authority on the Indians of Mississippi, will prove interesting to the reader. It is now on file in the Claiborne Papers in the custody of the Mississippi State Historical Department.

"A few years before the Creek War of 1813, William Weatherford married and established himself on a plantation on the Alabama River, in what is now Lowndes County, Alabama. Here he dispensed a profuse hospitality, and his home became the resort of the dissipated young Creek warriors, over whom Weatherford exercised an unbounded influence. As the plantation of Weatherford lay upon a route leading through the Creek nation to Mobile, travelers going in that direction, often claimed the hospitality of his mansion. However much Weatherford may have embittered the whites against him in after years as the leader of the Creeks in their disastrous war, he was a man possessing many noble traits of character. In early life, wild, reckless and dissipated, he was, nevertheless, ever of an honorable and generous nature and extremely hospitable. Being a half-breed planter, he adhered to many of the customs of the whites, always dressing in their costume.

"Whilst Weatherford was living at the above-mentioned plantation, one summer's evening, a white traveler stopped before his door, and claimed the hospitalities of the day. The traveler was a notorious character from Georgia, known among his acquaintances as Wild Bill Thurman. He was a desperate gambler and horse-racer, addicted to rude sports and practical jokes, which gave him a notoriety far and near, but withal possessing much native goodness of heart.

"A day or so before arriving at Weatherford's house, Thurman was seized with a whim to have some sport out of the Indian chief, though in what manner he should have the sport, he left to circumstances. He accordingly sold his horse and bought a miserable broken-down hack, that could with difficulty drag one foot after the other, and in this plight, presented himself at the house of the Creek warrior. Weatherford, meanwhile, soon found out from other guests who were present, what kind of character Thurman was, and the object he had in view, and resolved to checkmate him.

"As the guests were sitting in the bar-room after partaking of a bountiful supper, Weatherford sent for his negro fiddler to entertain the company. Whilst the fiddler was discoursing his liveliest music, and the enjoyment of all was at its height, Weatherford suddenly drew a pistol and ordered Thurman to dance. Thurman, astonished but taking in the situation at a glance, and knowing that remonstrance was useless, went to work with heel and toe. For a long time he danced, the pistol of Weatherford steadily cocked upon him, and the assembled guests looking on. He began to grow weary, streams of perspiration flowed from his face, but still on he danced for dear life, the deadly pistol ever threatening him. Finally Weatherford relented; told him that would do, that he might now rest, and they would take a drink together. To this Thurman gladly assented. Whilst the two were refreshing the inner man Thurman all at once, with the speed of lightning jerked up the pistol which Weatherford had laid aside, and levelled it full upon the breast of the chief. 'Now, Bill Weatherford,' said he, 'it is your

time to dance. Now you dance until I tell you to stop, or I will drive a ball through you instantly.' Turning then to the negro fiddler, he told him if he valued his life, to play that fiddle until he was told to stop. Weatherford, brave as he was, saw at once that the tables were turned upon him, and knowing that Thurman possessed a nature as reckless as his own, he submitted with the best grace possible. For nearly an hour the chief was compelled to play the same role which he had enforced on Thurman. No one white man or Indian dared interfere, as they knew Thurman too well.

"At last, Thurman, satisfied with his revenge, lowered his weapon, told Weatherford that he had danced enough, and that both were now even. Weatherford accepted the situation; and after some general conversation, all parties retired for the night. However, before retiring, Weatherford secretly ordered a party of Indian's to take Thurman's horse out into the woods and kill him; which was done forthwith.

"Weatherford arose the next morning by no means satisfied with the night's experience. As he excelled in all the athletic sports of his people, he hoped yet to get the upper hand of Thurman. Accordingly, after breakfast, the chief challenged Thurman to a wrestling match, which the latter accepted. They wrestled several times, but in every encounter, Weatherford was worsted and was mortified at the result. He next challenged Thurman to a boxing match, or rather to a rough fist fight. The agreement was that no one was to interfere, until one or the other cried out, 'enough.' After a long and violent struggle, Weatherford, at last had to yield to the superior prowess of the white man. Both parties then shook hands, and pledged a mutual friendship. Weatherford began to conceive a strange liking for his antagonist. Although the idol of the Creek warriors, and the best ball-player in the nation, he felt no chagrin at his defeat, but regarded his antagonist with favor and admiration. Thurman spent several days with Weatherford, who treated him with marked kindness, and entertained him with all the sports and amusements peculiar to the Indians.

"At last, one morning, Thurman expressing a desire to resume his journey, Weatherford sent a servant to bring the finest horse out of his stable, which, equipped with elegant bridle and saddle, he presented to his astonished guest, at the same time, handing over to him a hundred dollars in silver. 'Here, Thurman,' said he, 'take this horse, and never again ride such a horse as the one you rode here, and which I had killed for humanity's sake, but always ride a horse that is fit for a gentleman to ride. And whenever you pass along this way, be sure and come to see me, and make my house your home.' Thurman was forced to yield to the strange generosity of the chief. The two, with many expressions of good will, then separated devoted friends. They often met afterwards, and the friendship thus strangely formed, lasted during all of Weatherford's eventful career until his death in 1826.

"The above story illustrating the early life of William Weatherford, we received from an aged citizen of Alabama, a soldier of the War of 1812, who vouches for its authenticity."

Another story preserved by Halbert runs as follows, though he later, as has been stated, in his history of the Creek War asserted with emphasis that Weatherford never appeared in any battle except that of the Holy Ground:

"As is well known, at the battle of Calabee, Weatherford made a furious night assault upon Floyd's army. In the confusion incident to the attack Floyd was heard with a loud voice encouraging his troops. 'Cheer up, boys, we will give them hell when daylight comes.' Instantly from the ranks of the Creeks came back the voice of Weatherford in reply. 'Yes, d—n you, and we will give you hell before daylight comes.' And well did Weatherford make good his retort, killing and wounding over one hundred of Floyd's men before the break of day, and displaying in every respect, a generalship equal to that of the American commander.

"After the war Weatherford settled in Monroe County, Alabama, and became a permanent citizen. Notwithstanding the wildness of his early life, all reports agree in stating that after the war, Weatherford lived a sober and industrious life, and died a useful citizen."

Since the aggressor must always bear the indemnities that accrue from failure, the lovely lands of the Coosa and Warrior which now form a part of northern Alabama passed into the hands of the American government. A short while after Jackson concluded his treaty with the Indians at Fort Jackson, General Pinckney of the United States Army arrived and gave his approval of what had transpired.

On April 21, 1814, General Jackson discharged the West Tennessee troops at Camp Blount near Fayetteville with a stirring address full of praise of their loyalty, devotion and prowess. His language possessed a vital quality that charmed men and in times of stress moved them to action. His praise of them, now, was extremely pleasing. Highly spectacular in his manner and methods he was at the same time singularly sincere in all his purposes, and his knowledge of human nature and genius for leading or, as the necessity demanded, driving men evinced a sagacity that at times savored of craft. Every spirit about him caught his enthusiasm and had faith in his purpose.

Everything now being quiet on the Southern border, so far as the Indians were concerned, Jackson, leaving the gallant and vigilant Major Blue to quell any local disturbance that might arise during his absence, retired for a short while to the "Hermitage." The Indians in all probability would have retired to their own towns thoroughly subdued but for their British and Spanish sympathizers on the coast. While the British could expect little in the way of assistance in the future from the Creek Nation it continued to be their policy to keep hostilities alive between the Indians and the Americans and more than once, as has been stated, they uniformed and equipped them as field forces in their coast campaign against the American Republic.⁴² Appeals of runners sent into the Creek Nation led many destitute and starving Red Sticks to join the British with the hope of receiving protection and assistance. The Indians were in a pitiable condition throughout the Nation and besides the assistance afforded them by the British, Americans at several places were feeding as many as 5000 at a time.

⁴² Gayarre says of the Creeks at Pensacola, that they "openly wore the British uniform in the streets in violation of the laws of neutrality which Spain was bound to observe." They were promised a reward of ten dollars for every scalp taken irrespective of age or sex.

While resting from his arduous campaign against the Indians, General Jackson was promoted major-general of the army and empowered to conclude a treaty of peace with the Indians by the Federal Government. Having repaired to Fort Jackson with a small escort, he immediately assumed command of the Southern army. In peaceful surroundings his health had slightly improved but it continued poor throughout his Southern campaign.

During the treaty making the Indians, despite Big Warrior's protestations of friendship and his liberality in bestowing certain small gifts of land to all distinguished persons present, manifested their usual opposition to surrendering their native lands, an opposition led by Big Warrior himself when large areas were demanded. After much inveigling the Indians were finally induced to sign the treaty. Among the distinguished personages present besides Jackson were Colonel Hawkins⁴⁴ and Colonel Arthur P. Hayne.⁴⁵

It was an auspicious day in the governmental affairs of the American Republic but it had another significance more far reaching. Where the wayside shrine—a cross or a blue and red symbol of the Christ and the Mother, had been set in hope by the Jesuit among the sun worshippers, American patriots were preparing to erect the Protestant churches of England.

In connection with affairs in the South about the time of the treaty Woodward in his reminiscences has said:

The treaty of Ghent, which declared peace between Great Britain and the United States, was signed December 25, 1814, but as the treaty of Fort Jackson did not actually terminate the war with the Creeks, so neither did this European treaty actually terminate the "War of 1812" of which the Creek War became a part. Pensacola had first to be captured and New Orleans to be defended.

In unison with this view an English officer writing of the failure of the British to take possession of the coast country deplored the loss of such rich possessions to England and enumerated the many advantages had victory crowned their arms.

Returning to the affairs and military operations of the Mississippi

⁴⁴ See sketch of Col. Hawkins in this narrative.

⁴⁵ Colonel Hayne was a native of Charleston, South Carolina and was descended from a family distinguished in the Revolutionary War. He was for a while with the army in the North during the War of 1812 and was noted for his gallantry and patriotic ardor. He was one of General Jackson's most trusted officers and during the battle of New Orleans rendered service of the most valuable nature.

Territory, it was to Colonel Thomas Hinds that Jackson now looked for active support in the campaign against the British at Pensacola. The physical condition of General Claiborne, at present an invalid confined to his home facing a speedy death in his early prime, precluded any possible thought of his longer performing military service of any nature, though his connection with the military organizations still continued as the following formations for 1814 show, the roster having been taken from the *Natchez Almanac*:

Ferdinand Leigh Claiborne, Brigadier-General; Andrew Marschalk, Adjutant-General; Aides-de-Camp to Governor Holmes, Joseph Sessions, Thomas Percy, John Haines, Charles K. Blanchard; John Wood, Aide-de-Camp to General Claiborne; Lieutenant-Colonels Commandant: David Neilson, 1st Regiment, Amite County; Samuel Stocket, 2d Regiment, Wilkinson County; David Fleming, 3d Regiment, Adams County; David Carradine, 4th Regiment, Jefferson County; Raymond Robinson, 5th Regiment, Claiborne County; James Caller, 6th Regiment, Washington County, now Alabama; Peter Perkins, 7th Regiment, Madison County now Alabama; James Powell, 8th Regiment, Baldwin County, now Alabama; James Patton, 9th Regiment, Wayne County; Henry Manadere, 10th Regiment, Warren County; Robert Witherspoon, 11th Regiment, Franklin County; Josiah Skinner, 12th Regiment, Greene County; George H. Nixon, 13th Regiment, Marion County; John Hinson, 14th Regiment, Mobile County, now Alabama; Reuben Saffold, 15th Regiment, Clarke County, now Alabama; Charles Burris, 16th Regiment, Madison County, now Alabama; William Bates, 17th Regiment, Jackson County; Jordan Morgan, 18th Regiment, Hancock County.

From these regiments which conformed very nearly to the organization of 1813, had been drawn the infantry and the Mississippi cavalry. All were engaged in active and effective service of various kinds throughout the Creek uprising and the campaign along the coast against the British. Sometimes in local companies and even in small bands and knots or as volunteers and recruits in the regular army, they rendered effective service in the defense of the Territory and Republic. Many hundreds of Mississippi soldiers whose names have never appeared as volunteers from the Mississippi Territory assisted Jackson in his Southern campaign.

It was during hostilities, as we have seen, with the Creek Indians that Major Hinds began to realize some of his ambitions as a soldier. His capacity as an officer of unusual ability was instantly acknowledged by Jackson, nor was the superior character of the Dragoons, culled from the best population of the State, lost to his observing eye. When the Mississippi Territory faced a more serious trouble than she had experienced with the Creeks, this famous troop of horse once more sprang into action and eagerly followed Jackson's fortunes.

Jackson was scarcely through arranging his treaty with the Creeks concluded August 9, 1814, when designs on the part of Great Britain and Spain to keep alive their slumbering animosities toward the Americans became so patent that he was no longer in doubt as to the course to pursue. Persistent rumors of military assistance and encouragement given the Indians by both the British and Spanish at Pensacola aroused his indignation. In addition he had discovered that the closest communication had been opened up between the Spanish and British; that the latter from the brig *Orpheus* had landed arms at Apalachicola. His correspondence with Governor Claiborne at New Orleans confirmed all of his suspicions and he lost no time in reporting the situation to the Government at Washington. All orders from the War Department were delayed and from the very nature of things authorities there were so out of touch with the situation that he, unwilling to risk failure, assumed the initiative in moving against the Spanish capital.

The prime motive that actuated Jackson in his expedition against Pensacola where the British for many months had been very active was the defense of the American Republic. Any impartial study of the records reveals this fact beyond question.⁴⁶ Previous to the appearance of the British he had given evidence of a desire to raise the American flag along the whole coast of the Gulf of Mexico. But, it

⁴⁶ Extracts similar to the ones quoted in this note from Jackson's war reports and letters can be numerous cited showing that the defense of New Orleans was in his mind at all times during the summer and fall of 1814.

General Jackson from his headquarters at Mobile wrote to Governor Claiborne on August 22, 1814:

"I have no power to stipulate with any particular corps, as to particular or local service but it is not to be presumed at present that the troops of Louisiana will have to extend their services beyond the limits of their own state. Yet circumstances might arise which would make it necessary they should be called to face an invading enemy beyond the boundary of the state to stop his entry into their territory."

Again in a letter to Governor Claiborne, dated headquarters, 7th Military district, Fort Jackson, July 21, 1814, he says:

"This morning I was presented with a new British musket given to a friendly Indian by those at Apalachicola Bay. Information has been received by this fellow tending to confirm the rumour of a considerable force having landed there with a large quantity of arms and other munitions of war, and with intention to strike a decisive blow against the lower country. Mobile and Orleans are of such importance as to hold out strong inducements to them, at such a crisis: I must look to the constitutional authorities of the State of Louisiana for such support as will be effective in any emergency, and I trust this support will be afforded with promptitude whenever required."

must be acknowledged by all discerning and impartial historians that this thought was in his mind at present only as it related to his main purpose of driving the British from the Gulf Coast. The alliance or affiliation of the Spanish with the British presented a situation that made it necessary for him to attack the former at Pensacola in order to dislodge the latter. With this purpose he began his campaign with enthusiastic energy, an energy that continued forcible and potent to the end though his poor health and the hot climate were sufficient to have deterred him.

The statement of Henry Adams⁴⁷ that Jackson intended to attack Florida through Pensacola is based entirely on a false conception. When Jackson went to Pensacola with his army it is clearly evident from a close study of his whole campaign that he had planned a movement against the British that involved New Orleans. Furthermore he was fully aware that he had been contending with the British throughout the Creek war. While engaged in conquering the Creeks he had requested the Government at Washington to send a large quantity of military supplies to New Orleans. Also on September 5, 1814, he wrote to Governor Claiborne to hold all Louisiana militia in readiness for active service. Accordingly, Fortier says:

Major General Villere was ordered to organize companies in New Orleans on September 10, 1814, and Major General Philemon Thomas at Baton Rouge on or about October 1st.

The Governor said:

Major General Jackson commanding the Seventh Military District invites me to lose no time in preparing for the defense of the state. This gallant commander is now near or at Mobile watching the movements of the enemy and making the necessary preparation to cover and defend this section of the Union. He will in due time receive reinforcements from the other states on the Mississippi. He calculates, also, on the zealous support of the Louisianians and must not be disappointed.

Pending the expedition then to Pensacola, Jackson with a sagacity hardly surpassed by Napoleon, suspended all designs against the Spanish that did not directly relate to the British. To give ample opportunity for the expression of Spanish neutrality, three flags of truce were sent, and great pressure was brought to bear on the governor of Pensacola, before Jackson proceeded to attack the city. It

⁴⁷ Volume VIII, *History of United States*, p. 318.

seems even more than carping criticism for Adams to say Jackson was contemplating a move against East Florida (West Florida already was a part of the Mississippi Territory). However, after forcing the Spanish to clearly define their position as the acknowledged and active sympathizers of Great Britain he henceforth regarded and treated them from that standpoint. He decided that either way the die was cast it would suit his purpose. But had the Spanish governor signified in sincerity his willingness to drive the British out of Pensacola it is hardly possible that Jackson would have refused to tender his aid in the accomplishment of this end, nor is it thinkable, admitting that he cherished a desire to see them ultimately quit the Gulf coast, that he would have refused their assistance at Pensacola along the coast of the Mississippi Territory and in the defense of New Orleans.

Though commanding but a small force Jackson was ready for action when the British sloop with several smaller vessels appeared at Pensacola. It proved to be the van of a large naval force already in the Gulf waters. The Spanish made no objection to Colonel Edward Nichols, when landing troops and gathering about him the hostile refugee Creeks. The alliance between the Spanish and British became more evident hourly and none could question it when the Cross of St. George was hoisted over one of the forts of the Spanish town.

Secret messengers had been sent through the country to the Seminoles and Creeks inviting them to come to Pensacola and join the British service. About one thousand of these deluded people, still sore from their recent defeat, came in answer to the call. These were immediately armed, clothed in the British uniform and instructed as to the service expected of them.

To the French, who had settled along the Gulf coast as a survival of French occupancy, inflammatory appeals were sent with the hope of alienating them from the American government, no effort being spared to render the inhabitants of the entire coast region false in their allegiance to the Americans. Colonel Nichols in extending his appeal to the people of every race and creed throughout the coast country promised that a victory on the part of the British would be the means of breaking the chains of the American government that were being forged about them. To the Spaniards especially he was urgent to the point of entreaty.

With the Spanish known to be in league with the British, Jackson recognized the opportunity at this juncture of ridding the country ultimately of both British and Spanish dominion and it can be readily believed that he now waged war looking to that end. In addition to the Tennessee troops brought with him, as has been observed he had a large aggregation of volunteer Mississippi troops collected in regular and irregular manner. On these he relied for the most exacting service, since it concerned the Mississippi Territory so vitally, and the troops knew the country and its people better than did any forces at that time in his service. The Territory was thoroughly aroused and we gather from the message of Governor Holmes of November, 1814, that in conformance with a requisition made by President Madison upon the governors of the several States and territories for a corps of 93,500 militia he issued orders immediately for the quota assigned the Mississippi Territory which was 500 infantrymen and a full troop of cavalry. The troops were to be organized and rendezvoused at several points where they could be most conveniently ordered to Mount Vernon (now in Alabama). They were reorganized into five companies conformable to the military organization of the United States. These were ordered immediately to positions assigned them by General Jackson. Governor Holmes in his message further states that in addition to these corps he furnished for service in the United States Army upon the requisition of General Andrew Jackson four full troops of Dragoons subject to the General's orders. Colonel Hinds still commanded the Dragoons and General Jackson stationed them at Washington, Liberty and John Ford's on Pearl River to be ready when summoned to Fort Bowyer, situated on a barren sand-tongue, thirty miles south of Mobile in the Mississippi Territory. Jackson had placed at this point a small garrison of 130 men, protected by 20 pieces of cannon under Major William Lawrence who commanded the fort.⁴⁸

On the morning of September 12, the British landed 600 Indians and Spaniards and 130 marines. Sentinels stationed in the direction

⁴⁸ Latour in a very elaborate and supposedly scientific description that many historians have vainly attempted to rephrase describes Fort Bowyer at the entrance of Mobile Bay, while a strategical point of much importance, as a redoubt occupying the worst possible place for a fort, commanded by a row of sand hills, and with cannon defectively mounted on makeshift platforms that exposed the whole upper part of a man's body.

of Lake Borgne, also, reported that a number of English sloops of war and two brigs had dropped anchor six miles east of the fort. Major Lawrence lost no time in placing his artillery in position, and though the temporary platforms in a number of instances exposed his men to the enemy's fire, the distribution of the guns, in some respects improperly mounted, was in the main favorable.

On September 13 the British attempted to shell the fort but failing to effect any serious damage fell back into ill-provided sand bank entrenchments from which they were driven by the galling fire from the fort. As the situation grew more momentous Major Lawrence called a council of his officers who, after binding themselves in a sacred pledge to defend their country with every effort and sacrifice possible to men, adopted a resolution not wholly unique in warfare which stipulated that should the fort be blown up by the enemy and the garrison in the main destroyed before the remaining forces capitulated no surrender would be considered that did not give the Americans the full assurance that they would be treated in every respect as prisoners of war, permitted to retain their arms and protected from any outrage by the Indians as to their person or property. They pledged themselves furthermore that these terms should be carried out to the last man.

By the morning of September 15 the enemy with a fleet composed of the sloops *Hermes* and *Caron* and the brigs *Anaconda* and *Sophia* under the command of Commodore Percy, growing impatient at the thought of the easy victory in sight, decided to quit dallying and begin a determined attack on the small garrison. The ships weighed anchor moving under a favorable breeze towards the fort, the *Hermes* commanded by Percy leading the way into the channel and anchoring within musket shot of Fort Bowyer's batteries. Major Lawrence, noting the advance of the squadron and realizing his desperate situation, after again pledging his men to faithful service, with the battle cry of "Don't give up the ship" ringing upon his lips, began his preparation to cope with his powerful enemy in a final struggle for the protection of the fort on Mobile Bay. On the afternoon of September 15 the land forces of the enemy became very active and the cannon from a land battery concentrated a fierce fire on the fort. A brilliant marine and land battle raged for several hours and though assaulted by 92 pieces of artillery and struggling with six times as

many infantry as he himself commanded, the gallant defender of the fort with a loss of but a few of his men, and only two of his twelve guns being silenced, repulsed the enemy with severe loss, caused the destruction of the flagship *Hermes* and drove the remaining vessels with disheartened and humiliated commanders back to sea filled with wounded men. The *Sophia* was so disabled that it was with difficulty that it put to sea.

The following incident taken from Eaton's *Life of General Jackson* reveals the type of national character taking hold of the people in the far Southern section:

It is worthy of remark to show the difference in battle between the two combatants to mark the conduct of British and American officers, under circumstances precisely similar. Whilst the battle raged the flag of the van ship was carried away and at this moment she had ceased to fire. What had caused its disappearance none could tell; no other opinion was or could with propriety be entertained than that it had been hauled down with a view to yield the contest and surrender. Influenced by this belief, Lawrence, with a generosity characteristic of our officers, immediately desisted from further firing. The appearance of a new flag, and a broadside from the ship next the *Hermes* was the first intelligence received that such was not the fact; and the contest again raged with renewed violence. It was but a few minutes, however, before the flag staff of the fort was also carried away; but so far from pursuing the same generous course that had just been witnessed the zeal of the enemy was increased, and the assault more furiously urged. At this moment, Nichols and Woodbine, at the head of their embattled train, perceiving what had happened that our "star spangled banner" had sunk, at once presuming all danger to have subsided made a most courageous sally from their strong hold; and pushing towards their vanquished foes, were already calculating on a rich harvest of blood and plunder; but a well-directed fire checked their progress, dissipated their expectations and drove them back.

Always bitter in his denunciation of ineffectual service Jackson was equally extravagant in his praise of that well-performed and Major Lawrence was the recipient of much sincere and oft-repeated encomium from his enthusiastic superior.

Jackson immediately left his headquarters at Mobile and, taking every precaution as to supplies and financial needs, even to the extent of securing loans upon his own liability, assembled his troops near Fort Montgomery on the Alabama River with a view of meeting the British at Pensacola to which place they had retired. His forces consisted of three regiments of United States Infantry, the 3rd Regiment having been heavily recruited from the Mississippi militia, a company of Tennessee militia and the Mississippi Dragoons under Colonel Thomas Hinds. General Jackson was deeply impressed with the fine body of young men who composed the Mississippi cavalry,

a number of whom he had known personally during his residence at "Old Greenville" and on the Bayou Pierre in the Mississippi Territory. So struck was he now with their physical appearance and soldierly bearing that he took time to write to Governor Holmes and thank him for his prompt manner in assembling and organizing his quota of troops, referring to them as fine young men calculated to endure every hardship. In the reorganization of this Cavalry Battalion, which was to become famous as the "Mississippi Dragoons" during the last hostilities of the War of 1812 on the Southern Coast, Major Hinds was again placed in command.

In the expedition to Pensacola General Jackson's small but effective force included much of the best fiber of the young manhood of Tennessee and the Mississippi Territory. It is principally as was stated at the outset of this narrative the province of the author to record the part that the Mississippi Territory took in the struggle for American independence in the Southern section, but it has been and will continue to be the pleasure of the writer to emphasize the heroism of the brave Tennesseans and that of the troops of all other States in Jackson's service during his campaign against the British.

The various units of the army now assuming shape for the expedition against the British at Pensacola were in training within a few weeks of the assembling of the various corps. Many of the soldiers from the Mississippi and Tennessee commands had seen service together in the terrible battles with the fierce Creek Indians during the fall of 1813. Their spirit was at a high tide of patriotic devotion to the Republic and its cause and they sought further outlets for it under the magnetic Jackson who by this time stood out as the commanding genius of the army in the South. Victory, however, was not to be had without great sacrifice and the facing of every danger. They still had in mind the cruelty of their Creek adversaries at Fort Mims and along the Tombigbee and Alabama. Then, too, the rumors of the horrible acts of the enemy along the Georgia coast and on Cumberland Island were not forgotten. But they were the sons of American patriots many of whom had perished for their rights and liberties. In addition they were hardy frontiersmen wholly unacquainted with fear and eager for that adventure that spurns the credible and is at home only with the improbable.

It was in this mood that the Americans leaving their horses at

Fort Montgomery marched on foot to Pensacola. The Mississippi Dragoons under Colonel Thomas Hinds led the way through the forest. As they approached the Spanish stronghold a small detachment of the Dragoons under Lieutenant Murray were sent forward to reconnoiter. While advancing the brave young Lieutenant was mortally wounded by an Indian, a lamented circumstance that convinced Jackson more strongly of an hostile reception awaiting him. But with a due appreciation of the usages of war, he dispatched another emissary in the person of Major Pierre and though this last went more as an ambassador approaching the city with a flag of truce he, too, was received with open hostility.

Though it was reliably reported that the colors of Spain and Great Britain were flying together over the fort and that Colonel Nichols and his staff were guests of the city, Jackson, still determined to give the Spanish every opportunity of defining their position, sent an ambassador again at midnight to join in a proposition that he should permit the American troops to occupy the forts until the Spanish government could send a sufficient force to maintain neutrality. The Spanish governor rejected the proposition claiming he was unable to resist the invasion of the British. The shrewd frontiersman was now fully assured that the protestations of inability to cope with the British were only pretexts to cover a more sinister motive. He immediately ordered 3000 troops from the encampment to attack the city, disposing them in three columns. Major Woodruff with a detachment of the 39th and 44th Regiments of United States Infantry, with two pieces of artillery composed the center, while the right was composed of the Mississippi Dragoons under Major Hinds and the Tennessee Volunteers under General Coffee, Majors Blue and Kennedy on the left commanding a company of Mississippi and Tennessee militia to which belonged a number of friendly Choctaw Indians. The columns moved against the town eastward along the beach. The old fort had once been a place of great beauty and importance. The splendid evergreen trees, the harbor and the warm southern skies making a brilliant setting for the little city on the Escambia. Though church bells still proclaimed the coming of an old world civilization the place had changed and the streets of later years the rendezvous of pirate, smuggler and Indian trader, presented an uninviting appearance; still many Spanish families and quaint Spanish houses remained as

lonely survivors of colonial dignity. When Jackson attacked the town the inhabitants, including men, women and children, heroically joined in its defense. The Mississippi Dragoons led the army into the place their blue uniforms faced with scarlet and sabres slung within white belts giving cheerful color to the scene. The entrance of the Americans was stoutly resisted by a two-gun battery erected in the principal street which poured volley after volley on the brave Major Laval⁴⁹ and his men as they strove to take it, while from every house-top and window an avalanche of bullets, rocks and missiles of every description rained down upon the invaders. The defense as furious and fierce as any recorded in history was still as but the efforts of children. The sturdy columns of Jackson stormed the city with one fierce onslaught, carrying the Spanish battery at the point of the bayonet, after which a flag of truce was sent out by the worsted Spanish. When the hand to hand conflict ceased and the smoke cleared from the streets of the old Spanish town, the victory belonged to the Americans who had conducted the capture of the city with the form and order belonging to the best military sieges. The loss of eight brave men killed and eleven wounded robbed Jackson of several gallant officers. Consternation reigned among the inhabitants of the town. The governor of Pensacola under a flag of truce agreed to give the Americans possession of forts St. Michael and Barancas, and after some insubordinate conduct on the part of the Spanish commandant of Fort St. Michael had been punished, the American garrison occupied the forts.

The people of the Mississippi Territory, so near the scene of trouble after the fall of Pensacola, felt more secure. The territorial population was intensely devoted to the American cause and though sparse throughout its broad expanse had furnished Jackson besides the famous battalion under Major Thomas Hinds 500 infantry. "Mississippi," Parton has stated, "was now sending all her forces to Mobile."

⁴⁹ Major William Laval was a native of Charleston, South Carolina. He was the son of a French officer who was attached to the legion of the Duke of Lauzon who assisted the Americans in their struggle for liberty. When the Creek War broke out Major Laval was promoted to the post of captain and marched with the Regiment to which his company belonged to Fort Claiborne and from thence to the Holy Ground where he participated in the battle. From the wound which he received upon the occasion of the siege of Pensacola, he was a severe sufferer for two years and was rendered a cripple for life.

The British were greatly astonished at the sudden successful attack upon Pensacola and forgetting their alliance with the Spanish fled hastily from the scene of battle, blowing up Fort Barancas which was six miles below the town. General Jackson enjoyed the chagrin of the Spanish on their desertion by the British and the abject manner in which the Creeks now acknowledged his superiority was extremely serio-comic. The news of Major Lawrence's defense of Fort Bowyer and Jackson's victory at Pensacola immediately spread along the Gulf coast and wherever there was a French colony its allegiance was greatly strengthened. These recognized that the American general had struck a vital blow at Pensacola in driving the British from the place, punishing the Spaniards for their perfidy, and demoralizing the belligerent remnant of the Creek Indians. This last was a work that the gallant Major Blue⁶⁰ of the 39th Regiment continued to perform with the utmost success while Jackson was busy with preparations for the defense of New Orleans.

Jackson had managed his campaign with great genius and strategy and, with an eye to the future, his garrison was not suffered to leave Pensacola until every fort was destroyed and it was rendered useless as a harbor for the English navy. Elated over the success of his campaign so far he withdrew his army from Pensacola and stopped at Mobile. Both officers and men were in the best spirits. The Mississippians and Tennesseans bore themselves with fine and easy grace as they sang and jested their way through the beautiful Southern forest and Jackson now had the satisfaction of witnessing a thoroughly united spirit among his troops.

The defense of Mobile Point and capture of Pensacola were brilliant military feats executed in a masterly manner. In the *Encyclopedia of Mississippi History* the author has observed that the movements of the small army in this campaign and the return to Mobile through a wild and almost pathless wilderness were as well conceived and brilliantly and rapidly executed as anything in the history of Napoleon's marches or in the achievements of Stonewall Jackson or Grant, yet historians have never done the campaign justice, some barely mentioning it, others garbling the story. This is explained

⁶⁰ The narrative by Major Blue of his war upon the Indians has not been preserved and is thought to be a decided loss to the history of the campaign in the Southern country.

by the fact that American historians have had little access to the records of the South.

General Jackson did not believe that the defense of Fort Bowyer or Mobile Point, nor the capture of Pensacola, had put an end to the designs of the British in the lower South. Though at the age of forty-seven, past the exuberance of youth, sick and exhausted by exposure to the winter rain and suffering from malaria, he kept his plan well in hand with a view of being ready at any moment to move to the defense of New Orleans, the place that he believed would be the next point of attack.

The British fleet continued to gather in the Southern waters and Governor Claiborne of Louisiana was filled with the gravest apprehension for the safety of the Louisiana capital. Parton describing the fleet says:

At the western extremity of the Island of Jamaica there are two headlands eight miles apart which inclose Negril Bay and render it a safe and convenient anchorage. If the good Creoles of New Orleans could have surveyed from the summit of one of those headlands the scene which Negril Bay presented on the twenty-fourth of November, 1814, it is questionable if General Jackson could have given them the slightest confidence in his ability to defend their native city. The spectacle would have given pause even to the General himself.

It was the rendezvous of the British fleet designed for the capture of New Orleans. The day just named was the one appointed for its final inspection and review, previous to its departure for Lake Borgne. A fleet of fifty armed vessels, many of them of the first magnitude, covered the waters of the bay. There lay the huge *Tonnant* of eighty guns, one of Nelson's prizes at the Battle of the Nile, now exhibiting the pennant of Sir Alexander Cockrane, the admiral in command of the imposing fleet. Rear-Admiral Sir Edward Codrington was also on board the *Tonnant*, a name of renown in the naval history of England. There was the *Royal Oak*, a seventy-four, the ship of Rear-Admiral Malcolm. Four other seventy-fours, the *Norge*, the *Bedford*, the *Asia*, the *Ramilies*, formed part of the fleet; the last-named in command of Sir Thomas Hardy, the beloved of Nelson, to whom the dying hero gasped those immortal words, "Kiss me, Hardy; I die content." There, too, were the *Dictator* of fifty guns; the *Gorgon* of forty-four; the *Annie* of thirty-eight, commanded by Sir Thomas Trowbridge of famous memory; the *Sea-horse* of thirty-five, under Captain James Alexander Gordon, late the terror of the Potomac; the *Belle Poule*, of thirty-eight, a ship of fame. Nine other ships, mounting thirty-eight, thirty-six, and thirty-two guns; five smaller vessels, each carrying sixteen guns; three bomb craft and eleven transports completed the formidable catalogue. Nor were these all the vessels destined to take part in the enterprise. A fleet from Bordeaux was still on the ocean to join the expedition at the entrance of Lake Borgne, where, also, Captain Percy's squadron from Pensacola, with Nichols and the brave Captain Lockyer, were to effect a junction. And yet other vessels, direct from England, with the general appointed to command the army, were expected.

The decks of the ships in Negril Bay were crowded with red-coated soldiers. The four regiments, numbering with their sappers and artillerymen three thousand one hundred men who had fought the Battle of Bladensburg, burnt the public buildings of Washington and lost their general near Baltimore the summer before, were on board the fleet. Four regiments under General Keane had come from England direct to reinforce this army. Two regiments, composed in part of negro

troops, supposed to be peculiarly adapted to the climate of New Orleans, had been drawn from the West Indies to join the expedition. The fleet could furnish, if required, a body of fifteen hundred marines. General Keane found himself on his arrival from Plymouth in command of an army of seven thousand four hundred and fifty men, which the marines of the fleet could swell to eight thousand nine hundred and fifty. The number of sailors could scarcely have been less than ten thousand, of whom a large proportion could, and did, assist in the operations contemplated.

Here was a force of nearly twenty thousand men, a fleet of fifty ships, carrying a thousand guns, and perfectly appointed in every particular, commanded by officers some of whom had grown gray in victory. And this great armament was about to be directed against poor, swamp-environed New Orleans, with its ragged, half-armed defenders floating down the Mississippi, or marching wearily along through the mire and flood of the Gulf shores, commanded by a general who had seen fourteen months' service, and caught one glimpse of a civilized foe. The greater part of General Keane's army were fresh from the fields of the Peninsula, and had been led by victorious Wellington into France, to behold and share in that final triumph of British arms. To these Peninsular heroes were added the ninety-third Highlanders, recently from the Cape of Good Hope; one of the "praying regiments" of the British army; as stalwart, as brave, as completely appointed a body of men as had stood in arms since Cromwell's Ironsides gave liberty and greatness to England. Indeed, there was not a regiment of those which had come from England to form this army which had not won brilliant distinction in strongly-contested fields. The *élite* of England's army and navy were afloat in Negri Bay on that bright day of November, when the last review took place.

The scene can be easily imagined—the great fleet of ships spread far and wide over the bay, gay with flags and alive with throngs of red uniforms; boats rowed with the even stroke of men-of-war's-men gliding about among the ships, or going rapidly to and from the shore. On board all was animation and movement. The most incorrigible croaker in the fleet could not, as he looked upon the scene on that bright day of the tropical winter, have felt a doubt that the most easy and complete success awaited the enterprise. As every precaution had been taken to conceal the destination of the expedition, the officers expected to find the city wholly unprepared for defense. To occupy, not to conquer Louisiana, was supposed to be but the preliminary business of the army. From New Orleans, as the basis of operations, they expected to ascend the Mississippi, pushing their conquests to the right and left, and, effecting a junction with the army of Canada, to overawe and hem in the western States. So certain were they of taking New Orleans, that several gentlemen with their families were on board the fleet who had been appointed to civil offices in the city of New Orleans. Among others, a collector for the port, accompanied by his five beautiful daughters. Many wives of officers were on board anticipating a pleasant winter among the gay Creoles of the Crescent City. Music, dancing, dramatic entertainments, and all the diversions of shipboard, were employed to relieve the monotony of the voyage.

On December 2, 1814, General Jackson arrived in the City of New Orleans. The people were greatly relieved, and Governor Claiborne, intensely American and full of patriotic zeal, received him with great joy. The Livingston⁴¹ home was thrown open to him and not only

⁴¹ Edward Livingston was a distinguished lawyer of New Orleans. He was an American patriot in every sense of the term. It has been stated that he assisted General Jackson in the preparation of his several addresses to the people of Louisiana. All original documents left by Jackson furnish ample proof that he was capable of having written any paper ascribed to him.

the members of this exclusive family but all guests and friends who visited it felt the charm of General Jackson's personality. Some delightful entertainment was arranged for him by Mrs. Livingston during which the beautiful young women of the city beamed upon him full of admiration for the singular but fascinating soldier who had come to protect their city from an invading foe.

Some historians have charged the people of Louisiana with great indifference to their fate. Henry Adams²² has represented them as "distrustful" and "volatile;" but careful investigation shows that the Louisiana soldiery as a whole coöperated in the most gallant spirit with Jackson and Claiborne in their heroic efforts to rid the country of the enemy and that, notwithstanding the ill will that had grown up between Jackson and a majority of the legislature, the people of the city were full of patriotic ardor in its defense. The Creoles no less than the American population responded with the truest patriotism. If a small element of the Spanish was despondent this was brought about by local dislike of the French and Americans. The people of the State were fast developing a national spirit and were unaffected by the numerous appeals of the British, though these appeals carried the most extravagant promises. With the exception of a few fishermen not a single instance is recorded where a reputable person of Spanish descent in Louisiana was influenced by the appeals of the British, though the Spanish government at Pensacola was known to be in open and active sympathy with the enemy.

On his arrival in New Orleans Jackson immediately set about a twenty days' preparation for the defense of the city. The Mississippi on which the British in all probability would move against the place now received the most careful attention in the matter of fortifications. Major Latour, who was not only a skilled engineer and a good soldier but a remarkable man in many respects, was called into close consultation by Jackson in his plans for the defense of the city. It was found unfortified and though the British were known to be at this time with their fleet in the Southern seas it had been neglected or overlooked by the government. Jackson had called attention to the importance of supplying New Orleans with some means of defense during September of the previous year, but after having prevented the

²² Adams, p. 346.

British from finding a lodgment at Pensacola and Mobile he had now to face the fact that nothing had been done by the government at Washington to fortify the place. Lying narrowly between the river and the wide stretch of morass, it demanded only that the former should be well fortified, and it did not take the discerning soldier and the talented engineer long to place an adequate defense about the city, building better than the unprotected inhabitants dreamed. As a main part of the defense, two effective batteries mounted with 24-pounders were located on the side of the river opposite Fort St. Philip, one at old Fort Bourbon and the other a half mile below. These were to operate in conjunction with the fire from Fort St. Philip. Another battery was placed at the confluence of the Bayou Sauvage and the Chef-Menteur River. The plans and construction of all fortifications were put in charge of Major Latour who was a few weeks later to take a heroic part in the artillery defense of the city.

In addition to the construction of batteries Jackson sent orders to Governor Claiborne to have the bayous obstructed along the entire coast from Attakapas to Chef-Menteur and Manchac in the Mississippi Territory. The inhabitants of the parishes of Plaquemine, St. Bernard, St. Charles and St. John the Baptist were called on by Governor Claiborne in accordance with a resolution passed by the legislature to assist with their slaves in the erection of fortifications for the defense of the city, and the patriotism, zeal and energy displayed by the Governor is worthy of a more extended notice. His patriotic appeals to the inhabitants throughout the trying period when the city was in danger of falling into the hands of the British were second in fervor only to those of Jackson. Being fully aware of the local jealousies between the American, French and Spanish elements in the State's population, and knowing the attitude of the Spanish at Pensacola, he at times was disposed to be despondent regarding the situation.

While Jackson was busy preparing for the defense of New Orleans the British fleet was known to be approaching from Jamaica. The arrival of sixty vessels, men of war and gunboats, in the Gulf waters with rumors of a larger number expected was sufficient to alarm the small naval force at the New Orleans station. The United States Navy at this point was commanded by Commodore Daniel T. Patterson who had been in command since the inception of the war. A few

gunboats carrying in all 23 guns and 182 men was a weak naval defense for a city threatened with invasion by a strong nation, and, indeed, the American navy was insufficient everywhere and the cause of great disaster to the country. Little attempt was made to strengthen it at New Orleans, and both Claiborne and Patterson indignantly protested when the construction of the gun-boat in Lake Pontchartrain, a vessel intended to carry 42 cannon, was suspended. The American Government, however blameless, was unwise in not maintaining a sufficient naval defense at this important outpost, and had it not been for the heroic and spirited manner in which Jackson resisted the enemy New Orleans would have fallen a prey to British invasion and a later construction of the treaty made between Great Britain and America might not have included this far Southern section when disputed territory everywhere in the Western Hemisphere was the order of the day.

The letter apprising Commodore Patterson of the arrival of the British fleet came anonymously from Pensacola and on account of its interesting character is given here in the original:

To commodore Daniel T. Patterson, New Orleans,

Pensacola, 5th December, 1814.

SIR,

"I feel it a duty to apprise you of a very large force of the enemy off this port, and it is generally understood New Orleans is the object of attack. It amounts at present to about eighty vessels, and more than double that number are momentarily looked for, to form a junction, when an immediate commencement of their operations will take place. I am not able to learn, how, when, or where the attack will be made; but I heard that they have vessels of all descriptions, and a large body of troops. Admiral Cochrane commands, and his ship, the *Tonnant*, lies at this moment just outside the bar; they certainly appear to have swept the West Indies of troops, and probably no means will be left untried to obtain their object.—The admiral arrived only yesterday noon.

I am yours, &c.

N——.

Whoever "N" may have been, whether American, French, or friendly Spaniard, Patterson was nevertheless grateful for the information and hastened preparations to meet the enemy at the Mariana and Christiana Passes. He immediately sent five gunboats, one tender and a dispatch boat, to watch the powerful British fleet which on the morning of December 13, was seen shaping its course towards Pass Christian. A few hours later the enemy's flotilla gained the Pass and moved westward towards the American boats under command

of Captain Thomas A. P. Catesby Jones.⁵³ The shallow water of the lake caused by a constant westerly breeze prevented the American boats from floating though every effort was made to remedy the situation by throwing overboard all articles of any weight. At 3:45 of December 13, the enemy dispatched boats to cut off the schooner *Seahorse* which had been sent into the Bay St. Louis by the American officers to assist in the removal of the public stores which had been previously ordered. On finding that it was impossible to remove them they were ordered destroyed for fear of capture by the British. A volley of grape shot from the *Seahorse* caused the three boats attacking to retire out of reach of her guns until joined by four more when the enemy, now in command of seven boats, renewed the attack. Sailing-Master Johnson, commanding the *Seahorse*, took position near the land fortification from which battery two 6-pounders kept up a constant action for half an hour causing a partial loss of one of the enemy's boats and several of the crew. In the afternoon of December 13, the flood tide set in and Captain Jones's small division of the little American fleet moved out of its groundings and sailed for Bay St. Louis; the appearance of the enemy in large numbers caused it to steer towards Petite Coquille which fort stood at the entry of the pass at the Rigolets, Lieutenant Jones having been ordered to make a last desperate stand at this point. Adverse winds caused the boats to ground again in the channel of Malheureux Island. Their situation was discovered early in the morning of December 15, by a British flotilla of barges which moved forward in solid line to attack the helpless gunboats. The perfect calm and swift ebb tide in the pass exposed the American boats to serious danger and Captain Jones, seeing that the only course to pursue was to force the enemy to battle, set about occupying as advantageous position as possible. He immediately called all commanding officers on board of his ship and made them aware of his plans giving each vessel its position and ordering all to "form a close line abreast across the channel anchored by the stern with springs on the cable" (see original report of Captain Thomas A. P. C. Jones). It was in this position that the small American fleet on Lake Borgne in the west end of the passage of Malheureux Island awaited the advancing foe, the

⁵³ Captain Jones' name is spelled differently in many histories. This signature is attached to his original report.

powerful British fleet consisting of 45 launches and barges mounting one cannon each of 12, 18, and 24 caliber. In addition there were two launches mounting each one long brass 12-pounder and three gigs supplied with small arms, the total number of cannon being 43 pieces. The flotilla was manned with 1200 men and officers. It was commanded by Captain Lockyer who received several severe wounds during the engagement. It was with the deepest anxiety, but cool and undaunted courage, that the little fleet received the approach of its powerful enemy. At 9 o'clock on December 15, the attack began. The tender *Alligator* had been grounded two miles to the southeast of Malheureux Island and could not join the gunboats and the enemy spying her sent a small division forward. After a spirited resistance the tender capitulated and the British immediately turned her guns upon the American boats, the entire fleet of 45 barges advancing in line. The fire from the American gunboats temporarily checked the advance and the fleet divided, one division of 15 barges attacking Gunboat 156. Upon this division Captain Jones directed his guns. By 11:00 a.m. the entire British force was attacking the small flotilla. The stubborn resistance made by the Americans is graphically told by Lieutenant Jones in his report to Commodore Patterson which is given in part:

At 10:30 the enemy weighed forming a line abreast in open order and steering direct for our line, which was unfortunately in some degree broken by the force of the current driving Nos. 156 and 163 about one hundred yards in advance. As soon as the enemy came within reach of our shot a deliberate fire from our long guns was opened upon him but without much effect, the objects being of such small size. At 10 minutes before 11 the enemy opened a fire from the whole of his line when the action became general and destructive on both sides. About 11:40 the advance boats of the enemy, three in number, attempted to board No. 156 but were repulsed with the loss of nearly every officer killed or wounded and two boats sunk. A second attempt to board was then made by four other boats which shared almost a similar fate.

One of the boats that went down before the fire of Gunboat 156 carried 180 men. It was about this time that Captain Jones was severely wounded by a ball in the left shoulder which caused his removal from deck. Master's mate Parker immediately took charge and while gallantly defending the vessel he too was wounded, when the victorious enemy with superior numbers swarmed down on the gallant boat and gained possession of its deck a little after 12 o'clock. The enemy immediately turned the guns of his prize on the struggling

gunboats, firing several shots before striking the American colors. The plucky little fleet still continued heroic resistance a half hour longer when it surrendered though not without having nobly defended the honor of the American Navy. Had there been a strong naval force at this point the British would have found it difficult to land close enough to attack New Orleans as far inland as it was situated.

The loss of the British in this naval engagement was very great, numbering in killed and wounded about 300 which included many officers.⁵⁴ Captain Lockyer who commanded the flotilla which consisted of 1200 men and officers was severely wounded three times during the action. The loss to the American fleet was slight in comparison with that of the British, being near 60 which was one-third of their whole number. The stubborn resistance of the little squadron especially of Gunboat 156, commanded by Captain A. P. Catesby Jones, has been noted by many historians, but the best story is found in his original reports of the affair.

The naval operations of the British being successful in this engagement, their determination to shortly attack New Orleans was evident to General Jackson who knew that since the coast had not afforded a landing place the enemy had determined to concentrate on the capture of this city. Every effort possible must now be made to defend it and the determined, alert, and resourceful Jackson lost not a moment in making preparations to that end. His energy and patriotic zeal were contagious and the people responded with the keenest enthusiasm. In addition to all local measures, which to execute required the most delicate if not crafty diplomacy, and at times the utmost firmness savoring of license, he sent a hurried order to Generals Coffee and Carroll, whom he had stationed at Baton Rouge, informing them of the fate of the American gunboats and directing them to march immediately into camp at New Orleans with their troops. Coast defense was also recommended to General Winchester at Mobile. The Secretary of War was notified of the exposed condition of the city, that the greatest danger was apprehended and that arms should be immediately supplied.⁵⁵ The inaccessibility of the coast country

⁵⁴ Latour, p. 61.

⁵⁵ Anyone who has studied Jackson's methods throughout the campaign has seen that it was one of his wiles to underestimate his strength thinking that this would secure the assistance he so greatly needed in the defense of the country.

prevented close coöperation between it and the Government at Washington, the great distance and difficult transportation making it almost impossible for speedy aid to be secured. The lukewarm response and, in some instances, open defiance which the Louisiana legislature gave to General Jackson's calls for assistance were not creditable to a body representing the interests of a people already a part of the American union, a people, too, who were in great peril from a ruthless invasion. But so many racial differences existed, that unanimous action could hardly have been expected.

Notwithstanding the attitude of the legislature, General Jackson continued to make such appeals to the people as could not fail to secure response. His address, delivered when the militia of the city was reviewed, had a telling effect, and treason, if there was any, never thrust its head above the appeal, exceptional for its spirited fervor and eloquence, delivered on Sunday, December 18, to the citizens, the battalion of uniformed companies, all volunteers and the Baratarian pirates.

With the utmost speed and precaution he continued his preparations for the defense of the city, knowing that at such a crisis every hand must be raised against the enemy. As the days passed it became evident that the spirit of the city was in full unison with his own. He now had the satisfaction of seeing all things yield to his powerful purpose. The somewhat ill-natured criticism by Henry Adams that he had done nothing for the defense of New Orleans before the arrival of the British shows a want of accurate information hardly excusable in an historian.⁶⁶

Relative to Jackson's movements before the arrival of the British a lengthy excerpt from Latour,⁶⁷ for the purpose of sustaining my contention, is here inserted:

General Jackson was returning from a tour of observation to the river of Chef-Menteur, when the intelligence of the loss of the gun-boats reached him. He immediately ordered the militia-battalion of men of colour, commanded by Major Lacoste, and the dragoons of Feliciana, to proceed with two pieces of cannon and take post at the confluence of bayou Sauvage and the river of Chef-Menteur, in order to cover the road to the city on that side, and watch the enemy's movements. Major Lacoste was also ordered to erect a close redoubt surrounded with a fosse, according to a plan which I drew agreeably to general Jackson's orders.

⁶⁶ Adams, p. 339.

⁶⁷ Latour's statements are generally accepted as authoritative and have in the main been used by historians much as original records.

On his arrival in town, the general bent his attention to the fortifying of all assailable points, it being impossible to ascertain which the enemy would make choice of, the want of vessels on the lake depriving us of all means of obtaining any certain intelligence of his movements, before he could effect his landing.

Captain Newman of the artillery, who commanded the fort of Petites Coquilles, which stands at the inner entry of the pass of the Rigolets, towards lake Pontchartrain, was positively ordered to defend his post to the last extremity, and in case of his not being able to hold out, to spike the guns, blow up the fort, and evacuate the post of Chef-Menteur.

Captain P. Jugeant was authorized to levy and form into companies all the Chactaw⁴⁴ Indians he could collect.

On the 15th the commander-in-chief informed generals Coffee, Carrol and Thomas of the taking of the gun-boats, by letters sent by express, urging them to use all possible speed in marching to New Orleans with the troops under their command.

General Winchester commanding at Mobile, was also informed of the loss of our naval force, and it was earnestly recommended to him to use the greatest vigilance in protecting the vicinity of that town, as the enemy might endeavour to make an attack in that quarter.

On the 16th general Jackson wrote to the secretary of war, apprizing him of the capture of the gunboats; he expressed to him his concern for the consequences that might attend that event, which he apprehended might happen, when he wrote to government suggesting the propriety of giving the necessary orders for finishing the block-ship building at Tchifonte, and when he gave orders for supplying forts Strother, Williams and Jackson, with six months provisions. The general apprehended lest the interruption of our communications by water with Mobile, might be attended with consequences fatal to the safety of the country. He however assured the secretary of war that, should the enemy effect a landing, he would, with the help of God, do all he could to repel him. He also informed the secretary that neither the Tennessee troops nor those of Kentucky had yet arrived, but that they were daily expected, and that in the meanwhile he was putting the river below the city in the best possible state of defence. He acquainted him with the taking of the post of the Belize, with all the pilots, and a detachment of troops that was there stationed, but he informed him at the same time of the establishment of martial law, and of the rising of the militia in mass. "The country," said the general, "shall be defended, if in the power of the physical force it contains, with the auxiliary force ordered. We have no arms here—will the government order a supply? If it will, let it be speedily. Without arms, a defence cannot be made."⁴⁵

During the summer, while yet among the Creeks, general Jackson had made a requisition of a quantity of arms, ammunition, heavy cannon, balls, bombs, &c. to be sent to New Orleans; but such was the fatality that appeared to be attached to all the measures adopted for our defense, that it was not till the middle of January, 1815, that a very small proportion of what had been ordered, arrived at New Orleans.

A special law of the state had, some time before, authorized the formation of a battalion of free men of colour; and we have seen that it had already taken the field under the command of major Lacoste, and had been stationed at Chef-Menteur. Colonel Michael Fortier, senior, a respectable and worthy citizen of New Orleans, having the superior command of all the corps of men of colour, presided over the levying of a new battalion of the same description, formed by the exertions and under the direction of the gallant captain Savary, who had acquired an honourable and distinguished reputation in the wars of St. Domingo. It was chiefly with refugees from that island, that colonel Savary formed that battalion,

⁴⁴ Choctaw.

whose officers were immediately commissioned by the governor of the state; and its command was confided to major Daquin of the 2d regiment of militia. We shall hereafter see in the relation of the different engagements, that that brave corps realized, by a brilliant display of valor, the hopes that had been conceived of it.

The capture of the gun-boats was announced to the senate and house of representatives of the state, by a message from the governor: "I lay before you," said he, "a letter addressed to me by commodore Patterson, announcing the capture of five of the United States gun-boats of the New Orleans station, by a vastly superior force of the enemy. The length of the combat is a proof of the valour and firmness with which our gallant tars maintained the unequal contest, and leaves no doubt that, although compelled ultimately to strike, their conduct has been such as to reflect honour upon the American name and navy. The ascendancy which the enemy has now acquired on the coast of the lake, increases the necessity of enlarging our measures of defence."

Commodore Patterson addressed a second letter to the governor, in which he complained of the want of seamen to man the armed vessels then at New Orleans, and requested the support and assistance of the state authorities. This letter was laid by the governor before the legislature, who, on the — day of December, passed a resolution giving a bounty of twenty-four dollars to each seaman who would enter the service of the United States for three months, and to this end placed at the disposition of the governor six thousand dollars. The governor forthwith issued his proclamation (see Appendix No. 19). Between seventy and eighty sailors received the bounty of the state, and were of the number of those brave tars who, by their incessant fire from the ship *Louisiana* and the schooner *Carolina*, so annoyed the enemy in all his movements, and so particularly harassed him on the night of the 23d of December, as will be seen hereafter.

On the 18th of December, general Jackson reviewed the New Orleans militia, the first and second regiments, the battalion of uniform companies under the command of major Plauché, and part of the free men of colour. Addresses were read to them, and answered with acclamations of applause. My voice is too weak to speak of these addresses in adequate terms; I leave the reader to form an idea of the effect they must have produced on the minds of the militia, from the impression that the mere perusal of them will make on himself. (See Appendix, No. 20.) These corps had two days before entered upon actual service, and did regular duty like troops of the line. On the 18th, Plauché's battalion was sent to bayou St. John, and the major took the command of that post.

A general order of this day enjoined all officers commanding detachments, outposts, and pickets, on the approach of the enemy, to remove out of his reach every kind of stock, horses, &c. and provisions; and directed them upon their responsibility to oppose the invaders at every point, and harass them by all possible means. It concluded with this animating sentence:

"The major-general anticipating that the enemy will penetrate into this district in a few days, requests of the people of Louisiana to do their duty cheerfully, and bear the fatigues incident to a state of war, as becomes a great people, anticipating from the ardour pervading, and the present help at hand, to make an easy conquest of them, and teach them in future to respect the rights of liberty and the property of freemen."

The garrison of fort St. John, on lake Pontchartrain, had been reinforced by the volunteer company of light artillery, under the command of lieutenant Wagner.

By an order of the day of the 19th, the commander-in-chief ordered several persons confined in the different military prisons, for having violated the laws of the country, to be set at liberty, on their offering to take up arms in defence of the country.

But that favour was restricted to such persons as were within two months of completing the term of imprisonment to which they had been condemned. These and all others not under sentence were, in pursuance of that order, set at liberty

by the commanding officer at fort St. Charles, the barracks, and the powder magazines.

The country being now in imminent danger, it became necessary to adopt the most vigorous measures to prevent all communications with the enemy; and in order that such persons as might be apprehended for having given the British information as to the situation of the country, its means of defense in troops, artillery, fortifications, etc. might not escape punishment, general Jackson wrote to the governor, suggesting to him the propriety of his recommending to the legislature to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*. As the danger was daily increasing, the general could not, without exposing the safety of the country, whose defence was committed to him, wait till the dilatory forms of deliberation should empower him to take steps necessary for saving it. Nor did it escape his penetration that the legislature was not disposed to second his views, by that energetic measure. The hour of combat drew near, that of discussing, deliberating, and referring to committees, had gone by. The time called for action and promptitude; and accordingly General Jackson proclaimed martial law, (see Appendix, No. 21), and from that moment his means became more commensurate with the weight of responsibility he had to sustain. The object of his commission was to save the country; and this, he was sensible, could never be effected by half-measures. It was necessary that all the forces, all orders, all means of opposition to be directed against the enemy, should receive their impulse from the centre of the circumference they occupied. They ought to be radii, diverging from one and the same point, and not entangling chords intersecting that circumference and each other. From the moment martial law was proclaimed, every thing proceeded with order and regularity, nor did any of our means prove abortive. Every individual was stationed at his proper post. The guard of the city was committed to the corps of veterans and fire-engine men, who were to occupy the barracks, hospitals, and other posts, as soon as the troops of the line and the militia should be commanded on service out of town.

The privateers of Barataria,⁴⁹ and all persons arrested for, or accused of, any infraction of the revenue laws, sent to tender their services to general Jackson. Mr. J. Lafitte, adhering to the line of conduct he had marked out for himself, and from which he had never deviated from the beginning of September, when the

⁴⁹ Of these smugglers or pirates Gayarre writes: " . . . John and Pierre Lafitte, who were originally from Bordeaux, or, according to other reports, from Bayonne, but who, emigrating from their native country, had settled in New Orleans as blacksmiths. Tempted by the hope of making a speedier fortune than by continuing to hammer on the anvil, they abandoned the honest trade they were engaged in for one of a more dangerous character, but promising a life of excitement, which was probably more congenial to their temperament, and which held out to them ample compensation for the perils they were to encounter. They began with being the agents of the Baratarian buccaneers in New Orleans, and ended with being their leaders, and being proclaimed outlaws by the country where they resorted for illicit purposes.

"On the coast of Louisiana, west of the mouth of the Mississippi, there is an island called Grande Terre, which is six miles in length and from two to three miles in breadth, running parallel with the coast. Behind that island, about six miles from the open sea, there is a secure harbor which is reached by the great pass of Barataria, in which there are from nine to ten feet of water. This harbor communicated with a number of lakes, lagoons, bayous, sea-outlets, and canals, leading to the Mississippi, and which, skirted by swampy forests, and forming a labyrinth of waters, offered a tempting field of operation to the Robin Hoods of the sea. These men pretended to be privateers cruising with letters of marque issued by France and the new Republic of Carthage, to prey upon the commerce of Spain; but the world called them pirates, and accused them of capturing vessels belonging to all nations, without excepting those of the United States,

British officers made him proposals, waited on the commander-in-chief, who, in consideration of the eventful crisis, had obtained for him a safe conduct from judge Hall, and from the marshal of the district.

Mr. Lafitte solicited for himself and for all the Baratarians, the honour of serving under our banners, that they might have an opportunity of proving that if they had infringed the revenue laws, yet none were more ready than they to defend the country and combat its enemies.

Persuaded that the assistance of these men could not fail of being very useful, the general accepted their offers. Some days after, a certain number of them formed a corps under the command of captains Dominique and Beluche, and were employed during the whole campaign at the lines, where, with distinguished skill, they served two twenty-four pounders, batteries Nos. 3 and 4. Others enlisted in one or other of the three companies of mariners, raised by captains Songis, Lagaud, and Colson. The first of these companies was sent to the fort of Petites Coquilles, the second to that of St. Philip, and the third to bayou St. John.

All classes of society were now animated with the most ardent zeal. The young, the old, women, children, all breathed defiance to the enemy, firmly resolved to oppose to the utmost the threatened invasion. General Jackson had electrified all hearts; all were sensible of the approaching danger, but they awaited its presence undismayed. They knew that in a few days they must come to action with the enemy, yet calm and unalarmed they pursued their usual occupations interrupted only when they tranquilly left their homes to perform military duty at the posts assigned them. It was known that the enemy was on our coast within a few hours sail of the city with a presumed force of between nine and ten thousand men, whilst all the forces we had yet to oppose him amounted to no more than one thousand regulars and from four to five thousand militia.

These circumstances were publicly known nor could any one disguise to himself or to others the dangers with which we were threatened. Yet such was the universal confidence inspired by the activity and decision of the commander-in-chief, added to the detestation in which the enemy was held and the desire to punish his audacity should he presume to land, that not a single warehouse or shop was shut nor were any goods or valuable effects removed from the city. At that period New Orleans presented a very affecting picture to the eyes of the patriot and of all those whose bosoms glow with the feelings of national honour which raise the mind far above the vulgar apprehensions of personal danger. The citizens were preparing for battle as cheerfully as if it had been a party of pleasure each in his vernacular tongue singing songs of victory. The streets resounded with *Yankee Doodle*, the *Marseillaise Hymn*, the *Chant du Depart* and other martial airs while those who had been long unaccustomed to military duty were furbishing their arms and accoutrements. Beauty applauded valour and promised with her smiles to reward the toils of the brave. Though inhabiting an open town not above ten leagues from the enemy and never till now exposed to war's alarms, the fair sex of New Orleans were animated with the ardour of their defenders and with

within whose territory they brought their prizes in violation of law. Many horrible tales were related of them, but were stoutly denied by their friends, who were numerous and influential.

"The Government of the United States had attempted several expeditions against them, but of so feeble a character as to be necessarily abortive. Whenever any attack was meditated against the buccaneers, they seemed to be mysteriously informed of the coming danger, and in time to avoid it. On such occasions, they would break up their settlement and carry it to some unknown part of the coast; should the new quarters be discovered and threatened, they were transported elsewhere; and the buccaneers would invariably return to the places formerly occupied by them, as soon as evacuated by their foes. It was even rumored, and believed by many, that the pursuers never had any serious intention of capturing the pursued."

cheerful serenity at the sound of the drum presented themselves at the windows and balconies to applaud the troops going through their evolutions and to encourage their husbands, sons, fathers and brothers to protect them from the insults of our ferocious enemies and prevent a repetition of the horrors of Hampton.

The several corps of militia were constantly exercising from morning till evening, and at all hours was heard the sound of drums, and of military bands of music. New Orleans wore the appearance of a camp; and the greatest cheerfulness and concord prevailed amongst all ranks and conditions of people. All countenances expressed a wish to come to an engagement with the enemy, and announced a foretaste of victory.

Commodore Patterson sent gun-boat No. 65 to fort St. Philip. Lieutenant Cunningham who commanded it had orders to send an armed boat to the Balize, for the purpose of bringing up the custom-house officer, and of ascertaining, if possible, the enemy's force. He was further directed to give to the commanding officer at Plaquemine all the assistance in his power. The commodore ordered captain W. B. Carroll, the officer who had the command of the navy-yard at Tchifonte, to cause the brig Aetna to ascend the bayou, and take a station opposite the unfinished block-ship, for the defence of the latter, in case of the approach of the enemy. Captain Carroll was further ordered not to suffer any boat to leave Tchifonte for the bayou St. John, without a passport, and in the event of the enemy's entering lake Pontchartrain, not to let the mail-boat pass.

While New Orleans was making preparation for a stubborn defense the British, after sweeping away the slight naval resistance from the Gulf shore, proceeded with much nonchalance to find a landing place for their troops. Their inhospitable reception of the bearers of the flag of truce sent by Commodore Patterson to gain information relative to the officer and members of the crew who had been made prisoners on the gunboats was indicative of an over-strict military spirit that incensed the Americans though the wounded themselves were found to be well and kindly treated.

The British having anchored their fleet near the Isle aux Pois transferred their troops to barges and continued to advance through Lake Borgne, Bayou Bienvenu and Bayou Masant and effected a landing at the mouth of Villere's Canal. A small and straggling colony of Spanish and Portuguese fisherman who used the waters of Lake Borgne and the bayous emptying into it as a fishing ground secretly assisted them in disembarking their troops, also in piloting them over safe pathways. These, furthermore, acted as spies and in connection with a disguised British soldier gathered much valuable information for the enemy, making it clear to him that his best advance after landing would be by Villere's Canal, the ground along the canal affording a firm footing. Only ten of these creatures, however, could be named by Latour in his execration.

While the enemy's first barges were approaching, their appearance brought on a dramatic scene in the great dark Louisiana Delta whose

silence at night was usually broken only by the cry of the panther or the ta hoo of the owl. An American sentinel reported a different noise; for moving quietly up the bayou through the bare mid-winter forest could be seen by the pale rays of the moon five barges filled with men and several pieces of artillery. The little American detachment guarding the far outpost, deeming it imprudent to fire on account of the great disparity of numbers, concealed itself behind a log cabin. When the barges had passed the sentinels at this point determined to give notification of the arrival of the enemy. A number of these were discovered and captured by the first detachment of the enemy while landing; others made their escape and wandered in the tall grass of the low marshes for a whole day to finally become captives of the British, one alone having escaped to the American lines on the road leading from Gentilly to Chef-Menteur where Jackson had placed Claiborne with a part of his forces to guard the city. The treatment of their prisoners by the British was not in accordance with the best military customs. A serio-comic phase of the situation developed when one of the Spanish fishermen captured with the American party was detained as a prisoner. Who can be adjudged better than his company?

Another exciting incident connected with the landing of the enemy has been preserved by historians. While the British were arriving about noon of December 23, in the strip of forest on the River and running along the Villeré Canal, the advance guard entered a beautiful orange grove and came upon the fine plantation house of General Villeré which they captured, making prisoners of Major Villeré and a small company of the 3d Regiment of militia stationed there as a guard. This feat was not to be accomplished without a stout resistance from Major Villeré, the General's son, who later broke from his confinement and escaped through a window pursued by a shower of bullets.

While the brave young soldier, in a remarkable experience filled with hazard and adventure, was making his way from the right bank of the River a kindred spirit, Colonel Denis de la Ronde, commanding the 3rd Louisiana Militia, also made his escape from the enemy and reached the American lines from the other bank. I do not vouch for the many stories told of Major Villeré in his escape but I do for the fact that it was in no volatile spirit such as has been ascribed to them by Adams that these brave young Frenchmen determined to carry in person the news of the enemy's approach to General Jackson.

Furthermore the the true story of General Jackson's first reception of the news of the landing of the British is not presented by Henry Adams.⁶⁰ According to Latour's own account, Colonel La Ronde who commanded the Louisiana detachment of militia at the Villeré house sent on the evening of December 22 a courier to apprise Jackson of the appearance of several sail in the three bayous behind Terre aux Boeufs. Latour claims that he was sent the next day to verify this report but admits that he met several persons "flying" towards town who told him that the British had landed, were in possession of Villeré's house and had taken prisoner General Villeré's son. On receiving this news Major Tatum was sent back to the American camp to help confirm the story while Latour proceeded to reconnoiter the British. If the people who were "flying" towards town did not stop in their flight they were the first to apprise Jackson that the enemy had landed, a fact that was becoming very generally known through many sources.

That Jackson was prepared to meet the British is shown by the fact that he attacked them immediately on landing. He had now about 4000 troops gathered from Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky and Louisiana, an untrained but heroic band that thrilled with the spirit of high adventure was destined to conquer an army hitherto invincible though tested in many hard fought European campaigns.

With special reference to troops from the Mississippi Territory it may be noted that there was a large number of Mississippi volunteers scattered through the various commands. The 3rd United States Regiment had again been recruited at Cantonment Washington by Mississippi volunteers, the 44th Regiment contained Mississippi riflemen and the infantry which had been with Jackson throughout the Coast Campaign. Many were to be found in General Coffee's Brigade, while volunteers were daily arriving from the Mississippi Territory to be formed into companies with Louisiana troops or placed in other commands. The Mississippi Dragoons, composed of four troops of horse, were at all times present during the conflict to perform the many arduous duties required of them. We have seen that every man in the Mississippi Territory within military requirements had, so far, taken part in the defense of the country since the inception of the Creek War and had borne the brunt of the hostilities in

⁶⁰ Adams, p. 343.

camp and at home. These were now ready with the same zeal and spirit to assist in the defense of New Orleans.

The Mississippi Dragoons, under Thomas Hinds, after a march over muddy roads for four days arrived in New Orleans on the afternoon of December 23 and halted at what is at present Lafayette Square.⁶¹ On arriving, amid a storm of cheers from both sexes who lined the streets, they were immediately confronted with an order from General Jackson to reconnoiter the British camp. With 100 of his gallant troopers and Colonel Hayne, Inspector-General of the Army, Major Hinds galloped out of the city, neared the enemy's position and dashed into his pickets, throwing him into such a state of confusion that Colonel Hayne was enabled to make an estimate of his strength immediately reporting it to Jackson to be about 2000. During this hazardous service one of the dragoons was seriously wounded and several horses were killed.

Jackson, though brandishing a thirsty lance, was not quite ready, as he expressed it, "to meet the enemy." It was a crisis where chances could not be taken, and not until the right moment would he give the signal for his army to advance upon the British whom he determined to attack that night in their first stronghold. It was ready to move at a moment's notice and consisted of many of his best troops. In his report, in enumerating his forces with which he intended to attack the enemy, which did not exceed in all 1500, he placed Major Hinds' Dragoons first in the list, the fact being noted here to show his reliance on the cavalry.

The British had little difficulty in landing their troops and while confident of success were led, through sagacious American prisoners and also through Mr. Shields, a purser in the United States Navy, and Dr. Murrel who had been the bearers to them of the flag of truce in behalf of the prisoners taken in the naval engagement, into the error of believing that a force of 18,000 men would confront them in battle when they moved against the city. After casting about for several hours, a hesitating that proved fatal to success, they somewhat leisurely began preparations for battle. The English colors had been hoisted on the treetops immediately on their arrival and the strains

⁶¹ On this forced march Major Hinds and his command rode two hundred and sixty miles in four days, the road lying partly through the forest and in places obliterated by the winter rains.

of "God Save the King" now floated out on the midnight air. The house of General Villeré was occupied as headquarters while the open lands around it were rapidly filling up with red-coats numbering fully half of General Keane's division, the other half arriving during the midnight battle. Sir Edward Packenham, Commander-in-Chief, had not yet arrived. The first division disembarking numbered the light brigade of Colonel Thornton comprised of various large regiments, detachments of sappers and miners and the rocket-brigade. The second disembarkation landed the famous 21st, 44th, and 93rd Regiments of the Royal North Britain Fusileers, besides which numerous artillery-men amounting in all to over 4080.

Great excitement prevailed in the city so soon to become the object of defense. Small parties were constantly making their way towards the American camp to inform General Jackson of the arrival of the enemy in large numbers, and old men, women and children lingered anxiously in the streets and on door-steps to hear the comment of each passer-by. Proclamations posted along the fences and on farm houses everywhere near the British camp, signed by Admiral Cochrane and General Keane, contained many strong inducements to the people to withdraw their allegiance from the American government. The large element of foreign population here and the spirit of secession manifested throughout New England gave them the impression that the people of the new State of Louisiana would prove disloyal to the Republic.

Among the many stories afloat news had spread everywhere that Major Villeré and Colonel Denis de la Ronde with the 3rd Louisiana Militia stationed at the Villeré house had been captured and were held as prisoners. This and many other statements filled the people with the gravest apprehension. But every heart now trusted in the great Jackson who, like the bald eagle beating its wings against Appalachian peaks, seemed to revel in the thought of the unequal contest awaiting him. As much a votary of freedom as Patrick Henry his genius and emotions were in full play at this pinnacle of human endeavor. Communicating his rough exuberance of spirit to his small army and stirring it with such appeals as rarely fail to arouse in men a high tide of ardor he now had the satisfaction of seeing it eager for the most daring exploits. None knew better than he the numerical weakness and lack of training of the raw soldiery that was to be pitted against the trained legions of the British army, and his

fixed resolve revealed in his burning avowal to "die in the last ditch" rather than see the enemy victorious might have easily been construed as meaning that he intended to lay the city in ashes rather than surrender it to the foe. Always dramatic he readily shifted from an intensely composed manner to one highly gesticulative. It was in the last mood that he now gave orders to his army.

About five o'clock in the afternoon of December 23 he began moving his forces out of camp to attack the enemy.

The intelligence of the activity of the British communicated to him continually served to deepen the terror of his voice as he fiercely proclaimed that he would drive the invaders out of the country. His heated declaration, "By the Eternal they shall not sleep on our soil," soon became the slogan of his army.

It has already been seen that Governor Claiborne for fear of a double attack had been stationed with the 1st, 2nd and 4th Regiments of Louisiana militia and the Volunteer Company of Horse under Captain Chauveau in the Gentilly plain to protect the city on the side of Chef-Menteur. Major Plauché's battalion was stationed at Bayou St. John. General Coffee, in command of the left of Jackson's army, with his Tennessee Brigade, the Mississippi Dragoons and mounted riflemen under Major Thomas Hinds lead Jackson's forces, piloted by the gallant Colonel de La Ronde who was now a member of Beale's company. In addition to Hinds', Coffee's and Carroll's troops, the defense on the night of December 23 was composed of the 7th Regiment under Major Pierre and the 44th Regiment commanded by Captain Baker, the latter having been recruited by Mississippians. Other forces included the uniformed company of militia under Major Plauché, 18 Choctaw Indians under Captain Pierre Jugeant, 200 San Domingo negro troops under Major Daquin and a detachment of artillery directed by Colonel McRea with two 6-pounders under command of Lieutenant Spotts, also a detachment of marines stationed at the right wing of the army. The left wing of the army, commanded by General Coffee, also contained the Orleans Rifle Company under Captain Beale. The whole number engaged in this first battle in defense of the city did not exceed 2000, many of them being raw recruits and poorly armed for actual battle against near 5000 well-armed, trained and seasoned British soldiery. With this small but determined force Jackson moved nearer the enemy about

seven o'clock and immediately began disposing his troops for action. The schooner *Carolina* with Captain Henley was ordered to drop down and take position across from the enemy. Commodore Patterson boarded her and remained throughout the battle. Latour says:

About nightfall the left entered on La Ronde's plantation and took position in the back of it on its boundary with Lacoste's. The right formed on a line almost perpendicular to the river stretching from the levee to the garden of La Ronde's plantation and on its principal avenue. The artillery occupied the high road supported by a detachment of marines. On the left of the artillery were stationed the Seventh and Forty-fourth of the line, Plauché's and Daquin's battalions and the eighteen Choctaw Indians commanded by Captains Jugeant and Allard forming the extremity of the right wing towards the woods. The superior command of the battalions of militia was given to Colonel Ross.

The British without opposition having reached the Mississippi at a point about nine miles out from the city were known to be very confident, and the small American force felt that the first encounter would be a desperate one staged as it was at night and on a low ground cut up with canals and ditches. But with their commander's fiery appeals ringing in their ears, they awaited with impatience the signal from the schooner *Carolina* which the British had supposed to be an ordinary river boat. At half past seven the *Carolina*, now commanded by Commodore Patterson, dropped down the river and opened upon the British camp a galling and unexpected fire. Extinguishing the fires in their camp the British replied to the *Carolina* with a volley of musketry followed by Congreve rockets but without especial effect. The schooner with her guns at full play for a half hour was so destructive that the enemy was compelled to abandon his camp.

General Coffee, who had been ordered to turn the enemy's right, while General Jackson himself with the remaining force would attack his strongest position on the left, now advanced from the back of the La Ronde plantation. Leaving his horses he ordered the division forward so as to fall on the British flank and rear. He was closely followed by Beale's company. His division in an extended line was now drawn up between the Lacoste and Villeré plantations with Major Hinds and his cavalry stationed near the middle of the latter plantation ready for any use that cavalry could perform at night. When the order to advance and fire upon the enemy was given Coffee's whole line promptly and with perfect precision moved forward and emptied their rifles, the division advancing rapidly and driving the

enemy before it. The entire company under Captain Beale taking the foe completely by surprise dashed into his camp, a number of his brave men having been captured in the daring feat. General Jackson in a fierce charge at the same time advanced from the right against the British lines posted on the levee, the enemy contending more stubbornly at this point. The heavy enfilading fire from the schooner *Carolina* in the face of a five-gun battery of the enemy was now incessant and delivered at the very nick of time. Confusion soon spread in the ranks of the British and all organization was lost as the American forces concentrated their fire from the infantry with the guns of the *Carolina*. Encircled by a galling fire, blinded in the night by smoke and flame, their outposts battered to pieces, their camp swept with shot, and confusion reigning all along their lines, the British were driven back towards the river and though reinforced by two fresh regiments from Lake Borgne made no further advance.

The quiet almost silent manner in which the Americans began the attack and the precision with which they obeyed orders at night while facing a strong foe would have reflected credit on the best trained troops. The British commanded by Major-General Keane resisted the attack with 4980 men composed of part of the 85th Regiment, part of the 95th Rifle Corps, a detachment of the Rocket Brigade, the 4th Regiment, the 21st Regiment of Royal North Britain Fusileers, the 44th and 23rd Regiments, besides numerous sappers, miners and artillerymen.⁶²

This splendid army met the swift onrush of the American forces with a spirit equally as eager for battle, but surrounded and out-matched by Jackson's daring and strategy they were forced to give way at every town, both armies fiercely contending, often in hand to hand conflicts. The British finally abandoned the struggle about 10 o'clock. They had suffered much during the fierce combat and vexed and chagrined fell back to their camp to spend the night resting on their arms.

The heavy smoke and fog that gathered over the battle ground in the night, obscuring the position of the various corps, caused General Jackson to await further attack until morning. His small force of 2131 men rested on the cold and muddy field for a few hours and at four in the morning assumed a stronger position near the city. Major

⁶² Latour, p. 104.

Hinds with his dragoons was placed on guard between the two armies throughout the night.⁴³

In this action the 7th Regiment, commanded by Major Pierre, conducted itself with great gallantry and very naturally receives from Latour the warmest praise. The 44th Regiment, also, in which were many volunteers from the Mississippi Territory, distinguished itself under the command of Captain Baker. This, with General Coffee's gallant Tennessee brigade and all other troops in action, received the highest commendation from General Jackson. Major Hinds with the Mississippi Dragoons had conducted the force to the point of attack and during the battle remained drawn up in sight ready at any moment to use his cavalry. Before the battle he had constantly reconnoitered the enemy's position rendering Jackson the most valuable aid. Among the brave officers who were especially commended by the commander, along with Colonels Butler and Piatt, was Major Chotard of the Mississippi Territory. Their intrepidity, he claimed, saved the artillery. Tennessee and the Mississippi Territory suffered a loss in Colonel Lauderdale⁴⁴ of General Coffee's brigade who fell while heroically repulsing the enemy.

⁴³ The following extract taken from a letter written by an eye-witness gives an interesting account of the devotion and faithfulness of the Mississippi Dragoons in the defense of the country and of the City of New Orleans throughout the Christmas season:

"Our squadron," the author says, "was not in action on the 23d but were on the ground in the rear, since from the darkness of the night the cavalry was unable to act. Our duty since then has been very hard, as we have not unsaddled our horses since, but lay at their feet every night on our arms and without fires. After the battle our squadron was stationed between the two armies as picket guards, and lay three days within four hundred yards of the enemy's chain of sentinels and in the morning of the fourth day (December 28th) were compelled to retire to the main army, the enemy under cover of the night having erected batteries on the levee, and in the morning opened upon us, but did no execution except one horse killed and as we retreated they followed and made three attempts to charge our breastworks, but were as often repulsed, and were again compelled to retire, with a loss of about one hundred and fifty killed. On our part, the number in killed and wounded did not exceed twenty. To-day we have been endeavoring to draw them out, but without success, for which purpose our noble commander, Major Hinds, drew his squadron within two hundred yards of their lines, which drew their fire pretty heavy, and wounded three men and two horses. . . . We were kept there for one hour and a half by our major, who put us through a number of evolutions in the face of the enemy, to the astonishment of all the army, and when we returned to camp were met by three cheers from the army, and General Jackson's compliments, presented to us through one of his staff, Colonel Hayne, who said to us, 'Gentlemen, your undaunted courage this day has excited the admiration of the whole army.'"

⁴⁴ Colonel Lauderdale at this time was a resident of the Mississippi Territory. Mississippi and Alabama each later named a county in his honor.

Brigadier-General David Morgan, who commanded a detachment of Louisiana drafted militia in cantonments at the English Turn, hearing of the arrival of the enemy on Villeré's plantation, finding it difficult to withstand the solicitation and impatient entreaty of his troops, though without orders, marched against the British. Latour, an eye-witness, in his *Historical Memoirs* gives a highly creditable account of the part taken in the affair of December 23 by General Morgan and his troops whose conduct under the circumstances was all that could have been expected.

During the first battle with the British, General Jackson's personal bearing was beyond criticism. His strategy, firmness, composure and disregard of personal danger in the face of a fierce charge by a powerful enemy and his skill and ardor in directing and urging his troops forward amid the fury of the battle, called forth an outburst of praise from all who witnessed the engagement. He had now become the idol of his army, his strong and singular personality possessing a charm for nearly all with whom he came in contact.

The successful attack on the British by the Americans on the night of December 23 is thought by many to have made possible the easy victory of January 8. The blow delivered the English troops so soon after disembarkation was such as to disconcert their plan for an immediate attack on the city, which might have been carried out had they not received this decided check. Protected in all by barely 5000 men, many of whom were inexperienced backwoodsmen not even acquainted with the use of the bayonet, General Jackson knew that the city would without the greatest strategy and resistance fall a helpless prey to the enemy. His little army was astir by four o'clock in the morning. A force composed of the Mississippi and the Feliciana Dragoons with the 7th Regiment commanded by Major Hinds was left near La Ronde's place to keep an eye on the movements of the enemy, the Dragoons being posted as sentinels from the levee to the swamp close to the British lines where they remained until daylight. Through the gray dawn the faithful sentinels saw a field covered with the enemy's dead and wounded which were being silently cared for.

On the morning of December 24 scouting parties of the Jefferson Troop of the Mississippi Dragoons reported that the British had formed into position between the levees three hundred yards from La Ronde's boundary with the evident purpose of giving battle. A

little later their lines broke and they returned to camp deeming themselves unready for an engagement with a foe that had given them such a warm reception the night before. For the first few days they busied themselves in disembarking more troops and supplies at Isle aux Pois and transporting them to the river. Colonel Hinds, on whom Jackson now depended for knowledge of the enemy's movements, soon discovered that Lacoste's plantation was literally overrun with red coat and tartan while their sentries were posted as far out on the roads as discretion permitted.

To the small American army, constructing with might and main along Rodriguez' Canal what was to become one of the most famous breastworks⁶⁶ of history and mounting cannon along its rugged front, the invaders seemed, indeed, a formidable foe. Large companies of British troops were massing everywhere in the open plantations and the ditches were rapidly filling up with infantry. A sagacious order of General Jackson to cut the levee and flood the foreground of the Chalmette plantation in front of his lines unfortunately failed on account of the low water on that day which was unusual for the season. Every strategy possible was resorted to by the Commander-in-Chief for he knew that supreme efforts would have to be made for the protection of the city from invasion and that by an army that the Duke of Wellington believed strong enough to capture any city in America.

Not less ardent and enthusiastic in the defense of the city was Governor Claiborne whose nationalism and devotion to the American government had always been very pronounced and was now at white heat. As the second governor of the Mississippi Territory he began a period of service that would have easily ushered him into a great national career had death not cut him short at the age of forty-two. In the present crisis he manifested a spirit of freedom and patriotism not surpassed by his Revolutionary ancestors.

⁶⁶ The breastwork which could not have been constructed with any hope of success before the British landed and selected their line of battle was built of every conceivable material including fence rails, staves and rafters and in some parts even of cotton bales. The latter after a time were discarded on account of being easily set on fire. In the construction of the breastworks the canal was deepened and widened, the Americans working in mud and water knee deep and using every available help in the city, the entire population responding in the most spirited manner.

The British though recruited by fresh regiments and thoroughly equipped for fighting continued cautious throughout December 24. The *Carolina* and *Louisiana* kept up such a constant fire that they could scarcely move from cover, both companies and single parties seeking coverts everywhere to escape the accurate aim of the guns from these two vessels. The cavalry under the fearless Hinds reconnoitered their lines constantly through the day, displaying in full view several times, but they offered no resistance to the daring and fearless Mississippians who, led on by their brilliant commander, exhibited a courage that astonished and kept the enemy in continual alarm. The author of *Jackson and New Orleans* gives this vivid description of the operations of the cavalry of the American army during the defense of the city:

Prominent among the bands which kept the British in perpetual alarm was the command of the indefatigable Major Hinds, whose troopers from Mississippi and Louisiana were ever hovering about the English outposts, charging to the very mouths of their cannon, and driving in their pickets. Unfortunately for the British, so at least they thought, they were unable to mount their dragoons for field or fighting service; and Hinds, having none of his own arm to try his mettle on, was compelled to satisfy his impatient valor in unequal and ineffectual but dangerous, and to the British vexatious, charges on their redoubts and outposts. Hinds was of very great use to Jackson in executing reconnoissances, which he always did with brilliant daring and success. As soon as the British would throw up a redoubt or commence planting a battery in any new position, Jackson had only to say, "Major Hinds, report to me the number and caliber of the guns they are establishing there." Immediately the stalwart trooper would form his dragoons, and advancing in an easy trot until he had arrived within a few hundred yards of the object of the reconnoissance, would order a charge, and, leading himself, would dash full speed at the enemy's position, as near as was necessary to ascertain their strength and situation, and then wheeling under their fire and shower of rockets, would gallop back to headquarters and report to Jackson all the information he possessed.

In such incessant scouting parties and volunteer operations as we have described a majority of Jackson's command were engaged during the greater part of the night. So daring were these attacks that on more than one occasion the six-pounders were advanced from the lines and drawn within cannon shot of the outposts, when they would be discharged at the sentinels or any living object, generally with some effect, and always with great terror to the British camp, causing a general apprehension that the Americans were advancing to attack them in full force.

On December 25 Villeré's plantation was filled with British troops scattered in various positions, the bright hue of their uniforms making brilliant splashes of color amid the live oak, magnolia and bare, gray cottonwood groves along the river. Their enthusiasm greatly increased on the arrival of the gallant young commander, Sir Edward Pakenham who was already distinguished in military circles. Closely con-

nected by marriage with the great Wellington and a soldier by instinct and training, he represented the very bloom of the English army, that was later to overcome and send into permanent exile the great Napoleon. Lessons of daring and fortitude learned perhaps in these western wilds and borne across the seas served to animate the heroic spirits that won the field at Waterloo.

Immediately upon his arrival, General Packenham took command of his troops and an army seemingly never faced a more conspicuous fortune. It was on Christmas Day that he found himself in command of a force that by the first week in January had swelled to 8000 splendid troops with more constantly arriving. Beyond a handful of raw, half-trained, poorly armed regiments and a line of rude fortifications lay the rich prize, the fair city of New Orleans that was even then fast becoming the city of Bienville's dream. It had been rumored that the American general commanded a strong force in his defense of the city but nothing in its appearance now substantiated the rumor and it was with light hearts that the British made preparations as the days passed, the weakness of Jackson's defense becoming more apparent to them each day.

Very little transpired for several days after the night of December 23, though the restless Dragoons continued to harass the enemy, often drawing close enough at times to his lines to exchange shots, during which feats there was an occasional loss of a brave Mississippian.

A report that the British had landed at Chef Menteur and were engaged in active operations spread alarm among the troops guarding the Gentilly plain and caused General Jackson to send Major Latour with a detachment of two hundred men from General Coffee's brigade to take entire command of that point. In this manner he narrowly watched the approach towards the city deploying his small force so as to guard all possible entrance.

While ready to march against the American lines, Packenham, who had been greatly annoyed by the *Carolina* and *Louisiana* on the Mississippi determined to use first his artillery against them. This he had brought in considerable numbers from his vessels and on December 27 at seven o'clock in the morning his battery of several 12- and 18-pounders and a howitzer began firing on the *Carolina* and after a most strenuous effort succeeded in destroying the plucky little ship. The *Louisiana* would have suffered the same fate had it not been towed up out of reach of the enemy's guns.

It was on the day previous that General Morgan on receiving orders left the English Turn, sent the artillery to Fort St. Leon, and took position on the right bank of the river opposite Camp Jackson. He was the recipient of an unfortunate instruction about the same time. An order from Jackson had caused him to cut the levee near Jumonville's plantation and the flooded canals afforded the British ample water to float up their heaviest artillery, but not enough to render the ground unfit for camping. The Americans were now watching every movement of the enemy but still the British had made no move to march. On the evening of December 27, however, they moved forward and drove in the advanced guard of the Americans. Pressing forward in heavy columns they took position on the rich plantations of Bienvenu and Chalmette, ground that was to become famous in the history of the world.

The night saw great batteries looming up on the river and early on the morning of December 28 a number of splendid colors could be seen displayed, the infantry advancing and pressing still further back the advanced guard of the little American army which had itself fallen back from La Ronde's plantation. The cavalry under Major Hinds continued in the very face of the overwhelming foe to reconnoiter his lines, the troops sustaining the heavy fire of all his outposts. It was in one of those desperate, close encounters with the enemy that three heroic Mississippi cavalymen lost their lives while several were mortally wounded. The 7th Regiment acted with Major Hinds on the occasion and the advanced sentries and pickets fell so rapidly before their fire that General Pakenham sent a flag to the American commander complaining of the shooting of sentinels as barbaric, compared with European warfare. General Jackson, however, saw in the present hostilities nothing more than a cruel war of invasion and made it very plain to the British officers that sentinels of the opposing armies would be running great risks to drink out of the same stream.

As the dawn threw its silver light through the thickly draped folds of gray fog the enemy continued to advance against the American lines preceded by heavy artillery which divided its fire between the *Louisiana* and Jackson's lines. The British, hardened Peninsular veterans, both tartan and redcoat, were in gay, good spirits, their hearts beating high with expectation of victory. As Subaltern very

naïvely admits, when not charged by Hinds' Dragoons they regarded their passage into the city something in the light of a royal entrance.

It was about this time that Jackson ordered the blowing up of all the buildings on the Chalmette plantation which protected the enemy.⁶⁶ The same fate was intended for the house on the Bienvenu place but its execution failed. The British made much of their artillery as they confidently advanced, their guns cheerily playing upon the *Louisiana*. They little dreamed that as soon as they came within proper range the modest-looking vessel would return a most destructive fire. In a few moments more the deep columns pressing upon Jackson's lines with such enthusiasm and confidence were losing position and Pakenham was destined to witness many of his bravest men fall, his guns silenced and confusion prevail in his ranks. Throughout the destructive flanking fire from the *Louisiana* which wrought such havoc among the British, a terrific fire from Humphrey's battery and Latrobe's 24-pounder was kept up incessantly. Commodore Patterson vividly describes the action in his report to the Secretary of the Navy in the following words:

*U. S. Ship Louisiana, 4 miles below New Orleans.
29th December, 1814.*

SIR,

I have the honour to inform you that on the morning of the 28th instant at about half past seven I perceived our advanced guard retreating toward our lines—the enemy pursuing; fired shot, shell and rockets, from field artillery with which they advanced on the road behind the levee; sprung the ship to bring the star-board guns to bear upon the enemy; at 25 minutes past 8 A. M. the enemy opened their fire upon the ship with shells, hot shot and rockets which was instantly returned with great spirit and much apparent effect and continued without intermission till one P. M. when the enemy slackened their fire and retreated with a part of their artillery from each of their batteries evidently with great loss. Two

⁶⁶ The manner in which the Chalmette buildings were blown up is interestingly told by the English historian Subaltern: "That the Americans are excellent marksmen," says this author, "as well with artillery as with rifles we have frequent cause to acknowledge; but, perhaps, on no occasion did they assert their claim to the title of good artillerymen more effectually than on the present. Scarce a ball passed over or fell short of its mark but all striking full into the midst of our ranks occasioned terrible havoc. The shrieks of the wounded, therefore, the crash of firelocks, and the fall of such as were killed, caused at first some little confusion; and what added to the panic was, that from the houses beside which we stood bright flames suddenly burst out. The Americans, expecting this attack, had filled them with combustibles for the purpose, and, directing against them one or two guns, loaded with red-hot shot, in an instant set them on fire. The scene was altogether very sublime. A tremendous cannonade mowed down our ranks and deafened us with its roar, whilst two large chateaux and their out-buildings almost scorched us with the flames and blinded us with the smoke which they emitted."

attempts were made to screen one heavy piece of ordnance mounted behind the levee with which they threw hot shot at the ship and which had been a long time abandoned before they succeeded in recovering it and then it must have been with very great loss as I distinctly saw, with the aid of my glass, several shot strike in the midst of the men (seamen) who were employed in dragging it away. At 3 P. M. the enemy were silenced; at 4 P. M. ceased firing from the ship, the enemy having retired beyond the range of her guns. Many of their shots passed over the ship and their shells burst over her decks which were strewn with their fragments; yet, after an incessant cannonading of upwards of seven hours, during which time eight hundred shots were fired from the ship, one man only was wounded slightly by the piece of a shell and one shot passed between the bow-sprit and heel of the jib-boom.

The enemy drew up his whole force, evidently with an intention of assaulting General Jackson's lines, under cover of his heavy cannon; but his cannonading being so warmly returned from the lines and the ship Louisiana caused him, I presume, to abandon his project as he retired without making the attempt. You will have learned by my former letters that the crew of the Louisiana is composed of men of all nations (English excepted), taken from the streets of New Orleans not a fortnight before the battle; yet I never knew guns better served or a more animated fire than was supported from her.

Lieutenant C. C. B. Thompson deserves great credit for the discipline to which in so short a time he had brought such men, two-thirds of whom do not understand English.

General Jackson having applied for officers and seamen to work the heavy cannon on his lines furnished by me, Lieutenants Norris and Crawley of the late schooner Carolina instantly volunteered and with the greater part of her crew were sent to those cannon which they served during the action herein detailed. The enemy must have suffered a great loss in that day's action by the heavy fire from this ship and general Jackson's lines where the cannon was of heavy caliber and served with great spirit.

I have the honour to be with great consideration and respect your obedient servant,

DANIEL T. PATTERSON.

During the encounter of December 28 Jackson's land forces were equally as daring and successful in repulsing the enemy. Throughout the whole engagement the British without cessation threw shrieking Congrieve rockets into General Carroll's troops who occupied a part of Rodriguez' Canal, but, though exposed on account of insufficient protection by their thin breastworks, the Americans suffered only a slight loss from the noisy shells that were meant to strike terror to their hearts. In this engagement the 1st Regiment of Louisiana Militia remained on duty during the whole of the action. Captain Dominique and Lieutenant Crawley commanding Batteries 3 and 4 rendered good service during the battle and served their pieces with the utmost skill and precision and it was the great destruction the artillery dealt the enemy that caused the death rate in his columns. The loss of the Americans in the affair of December 28 was very slight, numbering in all seventeen killed and wounded, Colonel Henderson

of the Tennessee Division commanded by the chivalrous General Carroll being among the killed, a lamentable occurrence caused by his misinterpreting orders and carrying his gallant force into the face of a galling fire from the enemy. The British loss was considerable, being estimated between 150 and 200. Victory still crowned the Americans and the rejoicings in the army and in the city filled the air with notes that broke into a jubilate.

If the engagement of December 23 had not convinced Packenham of Jackson's determination to resist his advance, the affair of December 28 showed plainly that the Americans were not to be daunted and awed by the sight of heavy advancing columns nor the shriek of high explosives whose misdirected fire had come to be a subject of comment and amusement.

Moment by moment unheeding the cold rains and mud and water Jackson continued to strengthen his position both breastworks and batteries, and day by day through the heavy fogs that veiled the battle lines the fortifications rose up like huge spectres which faded as the sun each day advanced up the horizon, the clear morning light revealing the stern defenses of the city. And though the British still doubted the Americans' ability to cope with them in a serious engagement, before their eyes everywhere it seemed that American batteries were looming up. Supported by the *Louisiana* they constituted a formidable defense not yet wholly acknowledged by the enemy. Conspicuous among them were two 12-pounders and a 24-pounder which formed the famous Marine Battery.⁶⁷ Commodore Patterson armed a battery established behind the levee with these heavy guns from the *Louisiana* to protect Jackson's front. A galling fire from this battery caused the British to retire from the Chalmette and Bienvenu houses and remove his camp to the back of the plantations. In vain they strove to keep the outposts sentineled but the brave Tennessee riflemen picked them off at such a rapid rate that any successful attempt along the river at reconnoissance was in vain. The persistency, too, of the cavalry in the face of heavy guns was the

⁶⁷ The pieces of this battery which rendered such valuable and heroic service in the defense of the City of New Orleans were served by sailors from the *Louisiana* who had been gathered from the streets of the city and pressed into service after the capture of the American gun boats. Few of them spoke the same language and it was largely due to Lieutenant Thompson's care in training them that they rendered such efficient service.

cause of great surprise and annoyance to the British but of much gratification to Jackson who knew the value of daring cavalry in moments of danger in heartening a small, poorly equipped army facing a large body of well organized troops. It was about this time that the adventure of the ditch occurred, an adventure that has been preserved in original narrative by an eye witness of the feat. Trimble, a member of the Jefferson Troop of which Isaac Dunbar was captain, says:

Colonel Hinds reported at headquarters that his pickets had detected a strong party of the British creeping up a wide and deep ditch traversing the field before us. Some doubt being expressed, he obtained permission to make an immediate reconnaissance. He formed the battalion and said, "Boys, you see that big ditch! It is full of red coats. I am going over it. Whoever wishes may follow me; whoever chooses to stay here may stay." He galloped away at full speed with every man close behind him. They leaped the ditch which was crowded with British soldiers, made a circuit in front of the British lines, and charged over the ditch returning, each dragoon, as he bounded over, firing his pistol at the astonished red coats. But they recovered in time to give us a general volley which wounded several of our troop and a number of horses. L. C. Harris and Charles H. Jonisdon each got a bullet in the right shoulder.

It was this close encounter with the enemy that caused Jackson to exclaim of the Mississippi Dragoons in such extravagant language, "They are the pride of one army and the admiration of the other." It was such high courage and almost reckless daring, too, that put spirit into the whole army and won for the gallant commander of the Mississippi Cavalry the sobriquet of "Old Pine Top," a name not only suggested by his residence in the great pine forests of Mississippi, but because of the pine and all kindred species of that evergreen being emblematical of endurance in the clutches of storm and blast.

In the face of great annoyance from the cavalry the British on December 31 cast up a strong redoubt near the swamp and opened up a terrific fire on the left of Jackson. During the following night the entire army moved forward and when only a few hundred yards of the American lines began throwing up entrenchments upon which they planted heavy siege guns. Their fortifications began to assume a formidable appearance. Within only six hundred yards of the American breastworks they erected three half moon batteries, right, center and left. Thirty pieces of heavy ordnance were mounted upon these and all manner of picked guns brought from the ships. On January 1, a thick fog usual to the section wrapped the entire plain, hiding every vestige of preparation from view. Secure in the belief that their cannon would sweep away the defenses of the straggling American

army, they began opening up a sharp and well ordered fire. But the American fortifications, to Packenham's utter astonishment, resisted the fierce attack. Though the British guns roared and flamed pouring salvo after salvo upon the air, and missiles from the rocketeers fell in showers within their fortifications damaging to some extent both batteries and guns, the brave defenders of New Orleans met it with the imperturbable coolness of trained veterans. The heavy guns of Jackson made haste to reply with deadly aim to the confident enemy. Humphreys leading, the plucky Baratarians and Flangeac with his volunteer patriots immediately followed, and opened up a deafening thunder along the American lines. The British recoiled an instant under the terrific storm but came forward immediately with an attempt to turn the American left at the swamp. To their chagrin, they were met by a perfect rainstorm of missiles from Coffee and his riflemen. Noon found the half moon batteries of the enemy's fortifications broken, all the defenses along the levee destroyed, the cypress swamps and laurel groves trampled and torn and the wreckage of battle strewn everywhere. The dismayed British soldiers sought the entrenchments for protection during the remainder of the day and during the night retreated to their camp, many of their cannon left in the mud and mire and the entire army suffering not only from the wet and cold but from hunger and loss of sleep. While the New Year dawning on the Southern capital found the Americans confident and joyful, to the discomfited British there was little in the day that relieved their minds of their recent defeat, and humiliation was visible on every countenance. Sixty hours they had been with but little sleep, and on account of their position cut off from food and closely engaged in a terrific battle with an enemy that fought desperately. Memories of New Year's Day and the warm, well ordered firesides of Old England came no doubt to their minds during the bitter experience. But they were English soldiery and there was not the faintest trace of cowardice in the souls of the men who had been with Wellington in his famous campaigns. Though news that the American army was hourly increasing reached Packenham, knowing the mettle of his troops he determined to put his army in order again and with one swift onslaught storm Jackson's lines on both sides of the river, General Morgan being in command of the right bank.

General Jackson shrewdly discovered the enemy's plans. His own forces had been augmented by the arrival of 2000 drafted men from Kentucky under General John Thomas, 700 of whom were sent to the front under General Adair. Poorly clad and armed they excited the sympathy of the city and the legislature. The citizens of the State immediately took steps to relieve their pitiable condition. The women of New Orleans sewed all day and far into the night until uniforms were provided for all. The tardiness of the national government in supplying arms and clothing brought about grave complications at times during the defense of the city.

We have seen that the batteries were mainly in charge of Humphreys, the Baratarians and the veteran Garrigues Flaueac. On January 6 and 7, Jackson began disposing his land forces between the batteries with a view of meeting the concerted and general attack of the British. His artillery commanding an advantageous position played an important part in the defense of the city. His lines, five miles out from the city, were now being given daily inspection. Taking Latour, the principal engineer, for authority we give here the following distribution of the artillery as it assisted Jackson on January 8: Battery 1, stationed seventy feet from the river was commanded by Captain Humphreys. The enfilading fire of this battery and the fierce fire of the center batteries were very effective. Battery 2 was commanded by Lieutenant Norris; Battery 3 by Captains Dominique and Bluche; Battery 4 by Lieutenant Crawley; Battery 5 by Colonel Perry; Battery 6 by General Garrigues Flaueac; Battery 7 by Lieutenants Spotts and Chauveau; Battery 8 placed near the elbow of the line that passed into the wood was in such condition as made it impossible for it to render good service. The artillery here was served by militia of General Carroll's command. The line from this battery through the wood and to its extremity was a sheet of mud and water in which Jackson's troops stood in places knee deep. The breastworks though hardly sufficient at one point to withstand concentrated attack heretofore had been strengthened each day so that by January 7 and 8 they were proof against the cannon of the British. Behind them the American army waited on the night of January 7 for the approach of the enemy, the low ground at places compelling them to stand in ooze and water as they listened to the scathing fire of the enemy throughout the night.

The British, though they had pushed forward, had not yet passed out of the Bienvenu and Chalmette plantations where they were busy in constructing fascines and scaling ladders, and making final preparations for battle. The Chalmette plains on the 7th, presented a brilliant and imposing scene. Staff officers in bright uniforms were riding about everywhere giving orders while large parties of troops were moving heavy artillery forward. All through the night of January 7, the noise of many hammers could be heard in the construction of batteries.

The disposition of Jackson's forces on the morning of January 8 was practically as follows: A company of the 7th Regiment commanded by Lieutenant Ross guarded the redoubt on the river; a detachment of the 44th Regiment, which was also in the corps of Colonel Ross, under the command of Lieutenant Mazant served the artillery. The New Orleans volunteer company of riflemen was stationed between the river and Battery 1 on the extreme right. The 7th Regiment came next extending past Battery 3 to the powder magazine which last along with Battery 2 commanded by Lieutenant Norris had been constructed since January 1. The 7th Regiment was commanded by Major Pierre and numbered 430 troops. Lieutenant Crawley⁶⁸ commanded the battery here and the space between that battery and Battery 4 was held by Major Plauché's battalion of volunteer uniformed companies of Louisianians who had flocked to the defense of the city and Major Lacoste's Louisiana men of color both numbering about 600 troops. Between Batteries 4 and 5 Major Daquin's battalion of St. Domingo men of color occupied the line consisting of 150 troops; next in order come the 44th Regiment composed of 240 troops commanded by Captain Baker. The entire line from the 7th to the 44th Regiments was under command of Colonel Ross.

Major-General Carroll commanded two-thirds of the length of the remaining line. Beyond on the right of Battery 7, commanded by Lieutenants Spotts and Chauveau, were stationed 50 marines under command of Lieutenant Bellevue. General Adair with 600 Kentucky

⁶⁸ The name of Crawley is at present prominent in the State of Mississippi. In connection with this, it is an interesting fact that numbers of soldiers from other states who served in the Coast Campaign against the British settled in Mississippi and Louisiana, a Tennessee colony having made a settlement in what is now the State of Alabama.

troops strengthened that part of the line and General Coffee's troops, 500 in number, occupied the rest of the line, also that part that ran towards and into the woods. In addition to Colonel Thomas Hinds' Mississippi Dragoons and Captain Ogden's company of cavalry, the Attakapas Dragoons were stationed ready for use. Colonel Hinds was placed in command of all of Jackson's cavalry and held in reserve for any duty demanded of him. Some untrained troops, aggregating several hundred were placed in various positions. Guards occupied the road behind the line of troops and sentinels were posted from the road to the woods to prevent any passing out of the camp.

The above disposition of troops follows mainly original reports. Parton and Latour estimate Jackson's entire force at about 4000 men including "one hundred artillerists who did not belong to the corps." Of this force only about 3200 men took part in the actual fighting. The Mississippi troops attached to the various regiments and corps have not been given mention by historians, perhaps from the fact that they were not commanded, except in a few instances, by Mississippi officers but they were to be found in large numbers scattered throughout Jackson's army in defense of New Orleans. Jackson himself brought Mississippi militia with his Tennesseans from Pensacola and besides the recruits in the regular army, volunteers flocked to the city from many points and joined various organizations, the 44th and 3rd Regiments being made up partly of Mississippi volunteers.⁶⁶ Among these volunteers who came each day, singly and in squads, was the Creek War hero, Sam Dale of the Mississippi Territory, whose participation in the battle of January 8 is told in the following statement from his diary:

Galloping into the city and down the river, I heard the roaring of the artillery. The battle was in full blast. I gave my horse to an orderly and rushed to the entrenchments.

In something of the same manner hundreds of Mississippians had from day to day joined in the defense of the city while the cavalry under Colonel Hinds, all truthful historians must agree, was by far the most heartening influence in Jackson's army. No one better than Jackson himself recognized this and the fact that its

⁶⁶ In speaking of the daily arrival of Mississippi volunteers, one of Major Hinds' Dragoons in his diary says: "Our friends, Thockmorton, Breedlove and Richardson are here and I expect will join our troop. . . . William Bullet has become attached to General Coffee's staff; also General Poindexter."

service won from him the most extravagant praise bestowed on any command connected with the battle is proof of the superior service rendered by the troops from the Mississippi Territory in defense of the city. The historian Trimble, who was an eye-witness of the battle, describes the position of the Mississippi cavalry in the following interesting excerpt taken from manuscript sources:

There was a scathing fire during the night and the note of preparation in the British camp could be distinctly heard. Our troops were in arms and in their proper places at break of day. Our cannon bristled on the breastwork from the levee to the woods behind which was a long line of riflemen. One hundred and fifty yards in the rear sat our grim old Colonel on his charger with the whole of the cavalry. We were placed there to cover our army in the event of its being compelled to fall back to the second position.

It must have been difficult for one of Colonel Hinds' temperament to have restrained himself. At a time when men were unused to military discipline one would have expected little better of the impetuous commander of the cavalry than to have plunged recklessly into the battle without orders from his superior, but having become a seasoned soldier he knew the value of what Kipling in modern times has styled "everlasting team-work." Always exacting obedience from his subordinates, he was careful of the slightest command of his great superior for whom his romantic nature was fast entertaining hero-worship. Between himself and General Jackson there had always existed a deep friendship since "Old Greenville" days when the former was training the Jefferson Troop for service as a part of the Mississippi Dragoons, an organization that was to achieve fame not only in defense of the City of New Orleans, but of the American Republic. On the memorable January 8, we find him in charge of Jackson's whole cavalry, watchful and eager yet superb in self-restraint, giving full proof of the assertion made by Governor W. C. Claiborne that he had discovered in him all the talents and requisites of a good soldier.

Little more than a general account of the battle of January 8, will be given here and without minute details in reference to the further position of the troops since their position has already been noted. When the day dawned, cold and foggy, it found Jackson's forces with grim determined faces awaiting the splendid British army drawn up for action. Commanded by the hero of Salamanca, its regiments, brigades and divisions in gleaming battalia awaited his direction with a proud and confident spirit.

A Congrieve rocket speeding skyward from the British lines near the woods answered instantly by a shot from one of the American batteries being regarded as the signal for attack the two armies came together in fierce combat, both artillery and infantry breaking into a heavy rolling fire that shook the ground and wrapped the early morning skies in solid sheets of flame. Instantaneously the heavy guns from Batteries 6, 7 and 8 opened a terrific fire on the enemy's advancing columns and soon the terrible battle that has been regarded as one of the most famous in history burst into full blast. All across Chalmette's wet and miry plains the British lines were drawn and from the glittering rows of embattled steel company after company and regiment after regiment, were constantly advancing. The troops moved steadily forward, not with the light insouciance that characterized their first movements, but with rigid forms and lowering brows, braced to meet the rain of lead that swept their ranks amid wild cheers from the American batteries. The first fierce volleys coming in rapid succession from Batteries 6, 4 and 8 made large gaps in the uniformed ranks advancing in stiff, heavy columns, both Briton and Highlander bearing on their shoulders, beside their muskets, fascines and scaling ladders. These continued to maintain order until Coffee's and Carroll's men and the Kentucky troops under General Adair poured a withering fire of musketry into their ranks, causing them to waver and break.⁷⁰ With rattling peals that shook the ground the batteries without a moment's cessation continued to shell the enemy's line. The forces, which composed the right of the British army, were soon losing position and reeled back in the direction of the low morass. In vain were the columns of Gibbs, and Keane's rallied to be instantly repelled by the deadly fire of the American guns.

There was no protection against the blazing artillery that swept the advancing troops; fascines and scaling ladders, which at first were thought to be of use in mounting the breastworks, were forgotten in

⁷⁰ "The Kentucky and Tennessee troops on the left of Jackson's line," says Latour, "though constantly living and even sleeping in the mud" (from December 24 to January 20), "gave an example of all military virtues."

Of the Kentucky troops under General Adair on the left bank of the river General Jackson says in his general orders: "General Adair, who, owing to the indisposition of General Thomas brought up the Kentucky militia, has shown that troops will always be valiant when their leaders are so. No men ever displayed a more gallant spirit than these did under that most valuable officer. His country is under obligations to him."

the consternation that followed the full play of Jackson's well-served pieces that did not cease action during the battle. Column after column, platoon after platoon, were mowed down to be speedily replaced by splendid, well-disciplined troops who faced the fury of the guns unflinchingly.

Gathering his well trained legions about him, Packenham now came against Jackson's lines where they were weakest. Veteran troops of Wellington, they knew what battle meant and with upright forms and firm tread pressed forward over the dead bodies of their comrades which were beginning to pile up beneath their feet. As they neared the American lines a darker fortune awaited them still, but without a backward glance, with grim, set faces, they went to meet their fate in a blind, stolid fashion typical of their unfearing race. Falling everywhere, they were at once replaced by other columns that instantly went down before the heavy fire of the American guns. With a constant flame Jackson's batteries continued to rake the new-made lines. In the face of hissing shot and shrieking shells and half blinded by the gun glare a company of brave red-coats reached the American entrenchments, but another belch and peal of the cannon, accompanied by a heavy rain of lead from the Tennessee sharpshooters, and the column struggling in the slippery mud and mire wavered and lost position, then broke and fled to any shelter that could be found. The assaulting party retired to position four hundred yards from Jackson's first line but not without having striven upon his very ramparts. Secreting themselves in a ditch where they crouched wounded and bleeding, they responded with blanching faces to a call for a second attack. But their hesitation was not long. Discarding their heavy knapsacks they sternly came once more into line, recruited in weak places by fresh troops. Wildly cheering each other the Americans eagerly awaited the enemy's advance, the shrill blast of their voices echoing over the plains and along the vast river. The thin, gaunt figure of General Jackson mounted on a foaming charger could be seen through the smoke and glare of the battle, and wherever the tall gray steed appeared with its grim rider, enthusiasm reached its height, shouts of "Old Hickory! Old Hickory!" rending the air.

When the British column came forward for a second attack both musketry and artillery swept it again with a fire that wrought almost

total destruction in its ranks. Following the quick flaming of cannon, heavy veils of smoke wreathed the battle ground where the dimly outlined columns of Packenham were seen now advancing, now wavering and retreating in disorderly fashion. The atmosphere seemed on fire and the discomfited enemy could not discern through the smoke enveloping the plains from which point came the hottest attack, nor the strength of the force that led it. Everywhere Packenham was dashing along the front of his lines shouting and animating the drooping spirits of his shattered army. A stinging sensation, and his left arm fell powerless by his side; his steed reared, plunged forward and fell dead, leaving the heroic commander barely time to leap from his back. With the deafening scream of the batteries smiting his ears, a lurid stream of shot and shell raining about him and his men falling everywhere, he instantly mounted another horse and with his right hand urged it forward, while in fierce, rapid commands he rallied his broken squadrons. Animated by his presence in their midst they rushed forward in the face of a galling fire and again reached the American breastworks. But their victory was short-lived. The forces of Jackson were too well organized to yield. Swept on by his shrill, familiar voice the Americans, wildly cheering, continued to hurl back the invaders of their country. A belch of flame from their batteries with an enflaming fire almost completely wiped out the supporting columns of General Keane.

Across the field the sturdy English soldiery moved to be mowed down like grass before the scythe. Their leaders' fortitude and valor stirred at times the entire line and following the quick, sharp commands coming to them through the blinding smoke and glare they made another heroic effort to storm the American defenses. The heavy fire from Jackson's artillery and infantry coming together made open roads through their ranks. The battle was at its height; the tempest scorching and withering everything in its hot breath. Dead and wounded lay everywhere when the final catastrophe came to quench all hope in the breast of the proud English army. The valiant Packenham riding in the midst of the fury with cheers on his burning lips swayed in his saddle; his right arm grew limp, his horse went down under him and with a last stern command ringing on the smoking air he fell forward in the arms of an aide. Loving hands bore him out of the blare and death-rattle to a quiet spot beneath the

ancient live oaks standing along the battle's boundary lines, where, doubtlessly, forgetting in the great adventure the alien atmosphere that chilled to death his mortal frame and dreaming of soft English skies, he yielded up his life, breathing his last in the arms of his faithful aide, McDougall. His untimely end cast a gloom over the English army both at home and abroad. Nor was his death the only loss that England sustained that day. Officers of the highest rank had fallen either mortally wounded or killed outright. In the second charge which had proved even more calamitous than the first, General Keane had been shot in the side, while General Gibbs was taken from the field with a mortal wound. Major Wilkinson lost his life on the summits of Jackson's breastworks.

The British made a feeble effort, bringing even the wounded into line to rally the right of their wrecked army, but broken and decimated it went utterly to pieces and pursued by screaming volleys of shot and shell staggered back across the smoke-wreathed valley a bewildered mass of tortured, agonizing life. Nor could General Lambert now in command lead it to a third general charge.

The Americans, sheltered by their fortifications, suffered little from the enemy, the estimate being only thirteen killed and wounded on the left bank of the river. The fate of the right of Packenham's army was not more dire than that of the left. Here the brave and beloved Renee had pressed toward the river with his 1000 troops, swept away the American pickets and stormed the right of Jackson's army, entering, during a fierce hand-to-hand conflict, a half-completed redoubt to remain but a short while. The batteries of Humphreys and Norris and the 7th Regiment commanded this point and the charge had been a fearless one in the face of a galling fire from the American batteries. But none could be more sure of victory than the fearless leader, who gained the parapet of the redoubt with an exultant shout to his men to follow. In another instant he fell dead pierced by a shot from one of Beale's gallant volunteer riflemen. This command defended the extreme end of the line with a valor and patriotism that reflected new honors on its service. The British columns driven out of the redoubt reeled back in disorder through the red tide of battle leaving their dead strewn along the levee and the river. The last reserve under General Lambert could do no more than cover their retreat.

From the field everywhere shattered and depleted regiments were now retreating in disorder. The proud British army was vanquished; its bugles were silent; its colors trampled in the earth; its guns had ceased to reply. The Chalmette Plains, covered with nearly 3000 of England's valiant dead, was soaked in blood. Its orange and live oak groves, in which no bird sang for days, were riddled with shot and shell, and the wreckage of battle was strewn in soiled heaps over the landscape. Beyond, the cold, gray forest outlined the river. The bare limbs of the trees draped in long Spanish moss bedraggled by wind and rain, added a dreary touch to the disconsolate scene.

After the terrible battle that had lasted only a little more than an hour, the dead, the dying and the wounded lay strewn over the plains, along the levee and bayous and within the ditches throughout the forenoon and part of the afternoon, a bleeding, disfigured mass that filled the beholder with horror and dismay.

Never in the history of warfare has there been such rare execution of plans as marked Jackson's defense of the city, nor such inability and helplessness on the part of an adversary to avert catastrophe. Out of raw militia Jackson had created a strong, well-disciplined army and the American rifleman, cool and collected, proved to be not only a good marksman—a skill gained from much practice as a huntsman in the forests and wilds of the undeveloped country, but in every respect the best type of soldier. And the battle! Many historians have tried to describe it, yet none have painted it in its true color and only a Hugo could give it in immortal pictorialization. The story is told here not with the hope of adding anything new but as the climax of the long drawn out struggle for freedom on the Southern Coast of the young American government. In its recital the growth of nationalism can be traced in this section of the Republic.

When the American commanders were assured of victory, in Jackson's lines, cheers and rejoicings rent the air. The news was speedily conveyed to the city—both women and children crowding into the streets to receive it. The New Orleans and Plaquemine bands that had played with heroic efforts throughout the battle continued to peal forth strains of martial music, strains that must have fallen strangely on the ears of the wounded and dying of the fleeing remnants of Pakenham's defeated army.

Mingling with the bitter realization of defeat was amazement

and wonder. That a handful of untrained, raw recruits had contended victoriously and without loss of numbers with a well-equipped, carefully trained army of many times its strength, the mettle of the soldiers composing it having been tested upon a hundred battle fields of Europe was a fact difficult to credit. Who could believe what the eye witnessed!

Some slight sign of victory had perched upon the British spear across the river, the evil fortune of the American commanders there causing the wildest alarm for a few moments among the victorious regiments with Jackson. Though their failure has been the subject of bitter controversy among historians a number of eye-witnesses and students of the battle have expressed themselves in terms of exoneration of all parties concerned. With a mild objection to General Morgan's choice of a line of defense Latour has little condemnation of this General's failure to defend his lines on the right bank of the river.

The forces at this point of attack were known to be poorly armed and also starved and physically exhausted before they went into battle. The defense of the line at several places was so meager as to be scarcely discernible. These conditions, it cannot be denied, contributed largely to the disaster that overtook Morgan's forces on that day.

A more definite summary of the situation on the right bank of the river shows on January 4 General Morgan in command of the Louisiana militia. Colonel Cavelier with the 2nd Louisiana Militia was in camp on an old Spanish plantation. His regiment composed of only 176 men, in no wise equipped to go into battle, on January 5 took a further position on Raguet's Canal. Colonel Dijean left the Piernas Canal and joined the 2nd Regiment on its left and occupied the end of the line touching on the river. A detachment of the 6th Louisiana Militia with a poorly supplied force of 110 men joined this regiment, half of the men bearing no arms at all. The breastworks begun here had been abandoned and the line of defense 200 yards covered but a small length of the great canal that ran two miles into the woods. With a scanty force of 800 half-armed troops and no protection but a ditch, one can easily understand the odds against the Kentuckians when pitted against Thornton's fresh, well-clothed, well-armed brigades. The reinforcements rushed to General Morgan's relief were, says

Smith in defense of the Kentucky troops in his history of the battle of New Orleans, "Poorly armed, and had been without food and sleep for twenty-four hours. Their arms, a mongrel lot . . . old muskets and hunting pieces some without flints and others too small for the cartridges—how could men be expected to fight with a lot of miscellaneous old guns"? As reported by both General Jackson and Commodore Patterson the British in the attack made on the right bank of the river lost 120 men killed and wounded, the American loss being only one man killed and five wounded.

Returning to the main action, which though of short duration was attended by one of the most tragic consequences recorded in the history of warfare, the Chalmette Plains became the next day after the battle a great burying ground to remain evermore one of the historic spots of the world.

Under a flag of truce, sent with the strictest military ceremony a little after mid-day on January 9, the work of burying the dead began on the left bank of the river. The cause of the delay rested in the fact that the action on the right of the river had not yet been concluded and Jackson refused to recognize the first flag sent forward immediately after the battle. No sooner than General Lambert had ordered Colonel Gubbins, who had succeeded Thornton—now wounded, to abandon his position, the truce was recognized with the utmost military courtesy. The conduct of the Americans upon this occasion deserves the highest praise. Jackson, stern and unrelenting in the defense of the city exhibited a spirit toward the conquered foe well worthy of example in all warfare. A strong detachment of his troops was sent forward immediately after the armistice had been arranged to assist in burying the dead and General Kerr, Surgeon-General of the American Army, was ordered to care for the wounded. The British loss was heavy and included officers of every rank. The body of Colonel Renee found with two other officers where all had been killed during the famous charge on the American redoubt drew from the English soldiers the tribute of tears.

The truth was hard to believe when it was ascertained that upon all the bloody field, where nearly 3000 of England's best soldiery were thickly piled, only eight dead American soldiers could be found. The number of wounded was also, surprisingly small. An eyewitness in the British army was historian enough to understand the

significance of the disparity in the number lost by the two armies, and with deep humiliation remarked on the painful fact.

General Jackson after viewing the British camp with a company of his officers went in person to see the wounded English officers and assured them that they would receive every attention and care while confined to the hospital.

The citizens of New Orleans, both men and women, assisted nobly in the task of caring for the wounded on the battlefield. They were tenderly conveyed by steamboat to the barracks in the city, the hospitals there being full of sick American soldiers. Later a special hospital was provided for the 400 wounded British soldiers who were attended by their own surgeons. The prisoners, also, received the kindest attention, and every possible comfort was provided them. The fact that the two armies spoke the same language and were in the main of a kindred race was not lost on the Americans. In victory the latter bore themselves worthily. Heroism and adventure had had their hour and with every right this far boundary of the young nation took its place beside the older States in defense of American freedom.

Jackson was careful to make his victory complete, and no sooner than the dead had been consigned to Mother Earth, who knows no difference among men and welcomes back to her bosom all her weary children, the guns that had wrought such havoc in Packenham's army renewed their attack. Throughout the following days the American batteries continued to harass the enemy to his great discomfort. Partially destroyed, the British army made no further effort to attack the city. The expedition had failed and its commanders were forced to leave the Mississippi. Jackson, eager to be rid of the enemy, lost no opportunity in hastening their departure. This the British conducted in a prompt and somewhat clandestine manner. Colonel Thomas Hinds supported by Colonels La Ronde and Kemper,⁷¹ on the night after the battle and for several successive days were sent to watch the movements of the disorganized army, the cavalry advancing

⁷¹ Reuben Kemper, one of three brothers, was a native of Fauquier County, Virginia. The brothers were frontiersmen of the type that made the Indian fighters and territory conquerors of America. They removed when very young to Pickneyville in the Mississippi Territory and were the leaders in an insurrection known as the Kemper Rebellion which finally culminated in the annexation of the Biloxi and Mobile Country to the Mississippi Territory.

at times within rifle shot of their camp near the banks of the Bienvenu and on several occasions taking prisoners.

During the final retirement of the enemy, General Jackson, notwithstanding his conference with General Lambert, still fearing some sinister design on the part of the British, ordered Colonel Hinds with his whole cavalry, General Humbert and the Latrobe engineers to again reconnoiter their position. In this expedition the cavalry lost one man and had several wounded.

Jackson had placed Governor Claiborne in command of the right bank of the river to move against the enemy should he renew the attack. General Morgan also had orders to advance with a strong body of men to harass the enemy's retreat.

During the entire retreat the British did not show any disposition to renew the struggle on land. At any moment the powerful force could have easily returned for another assault on the American army, but its Commander-in-Chief had the satisfaction of witnessing Packenham's shattered divisions retire cautiously if not stealthily, harassed to the last moment by Thomas Hinds and his dragoons as they laboriously made their way over bayous, marsh lands and prairies. The British on several occasions during their occupation of the country expressed their astonishment at the feats of Jackson's cavalry, and later attributed some of their failure to the fact that they could not make use of their dragoons.

Though the enemy had withdrawn their infantry from the Mississippi, they still were in possession of a powerful fleet and in a spirit of uncertainty as to what course to pursue continued to bombard the American forts, principally Fort St. Philip at Plaquemine, seventy-five miles below the city. "From three o'clock on the 9th," says one who witnessed it, "until the morning of the 18th, the bombardment, one of the fiercest of the campaign, continued without intermission." The amount of shells, powder, round shot and grape expended was enormous causing fear that the enemy might still have designs on the city. Failure, however, continued to mark the last feeble efforts of the invaders, but General Jackson was aware that they still held Bayou Bienvenu and Lake Borgne and continued his efforts to fortify every weak place in the defense of the country. Numerous small companies of Mississippi riflemen had gathered on orders of General Holmes at every vulnerable point on the coast as far down as Mobile to

meet the English who failing to pass Fort St. Philip decided to return to their first position and invade the country at a weaker point of defense. The troops in the vicinity of New Orleans had been reinforced on January 8, by Colonel Wilkins and Colonel David Neilson's regiments of volunteers from the Mississippi Territory. Kentucky and other States offered to send Jackson reinforcements. He was now getting his army ready to again meet the foe. But beyond a second successful attack on Fort Bowyer with the hope of commanding the entrance of Mobile Bay the British made no further effort to invade the South, waiting at this point the outcome of the turn affairs had taken between the two nations.⁷² Their Southern campaign covering many months and even years had ended disastrously. And now after inciting the Indians through Tecumseh to hostilities, after the bloody Creek War, after the attack on Fort Bowyer or Mobile Point, after the attempt to occupy Pensacola, after the vain effort to capture the City of New Orleans and after a second attack on Fort Bowyer in the Mississippi Territory the British fleet put to sea again passing out between Ship and Cat Islands.

The news of the termination of the war between the two countries made the British eager to quit the Gulf Coast. But it was not without a keen sense of loss that they did so. Touching on this point in his narrative of the campaign the English historian Gleig wrote:

That our failure is to be lamented no one will deny since the conquest of New Orleans would have been beyond all comparison the most valuable acquisition that could be made to the British dominion throughout the whole western hemisphere. In possession of that post, we should have kept the entire southern trade of the United States in check and furnished means of commerce to our own merchants of incalculable value.

In connection with this it may be noted that Jefferson and other prominent Americans believed that the British would have retained New Orleans had they captured it.

On January 21 General Jackson directed an address to be read to all the corps composing the line below New Orleans in which he reviewed the campaign in a terse summary.

In announcing the victory over the British at New Orleans to Governor Holmes, Jackson in a characteristic letter written in haste

⁷² Immediately after receiving the official confirmation of the ratification of the treaty of peace, General Jackson communicated the fact to General Lambert at Fort Bowyer who soon arranged for the restoration of that post and all others in possession of the British.

Head Quarters
N. H. District
of

Camp 4 miles below N. Orleans

18 Jan: 1815

The repulse which the enemy met with
on the 9th has I believe proved fatal to their hopes.

Their loss on that day, was prodigious - exceeding
according to their own accounts as well as to ours, 2600
Amongst those killed were Genl Packenham the com-
-mander in chief, & Major General Jeths who died
the day after the action. Major general Keen was
wounded, but still lives. Their army is, at present
commanded by Major general Lambert, who, if I mistake
not, finds himself in a very great perplexity. To advance
he cannot - to retreat is shameful. Reduced to this
unhappy dilemma, I believe he is disposed to encounter
disgrace rather than ruin, & will, as soon as his ar-
-rangements for this purpose are effected, return to his
shipping. This, at any rate, is the danger to which
many symptoms seem to point. Probably, when it is
attempted to be put in execution I shall accompany
him a short distance.

Fac-simile copy of an original letter in the possession of the Mississippi Department of Archives
and History from General Andrew Jackson to Governor David Holmes announcing the victory
over the British at New Orleans.

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If ever there was an occasion in which Providence
should interpose, immediately, in the affairs of men
it seems to have been on this. What but such an
interposition could have saved this Country?—Let
us mingle our joys & our Thankgivings together.

At a moment when my feelings are thus alive
I should do violence to them if I did not hasten
to offer you my thanks, as well for the good dispositions
you have manifested, as for the important services
you have rendered.

With the highest respect I
have the honor to be
Sir

Yr. very Oth. St.

Andrew Jackson
Major Genl commanding.

P.S. I must again entreat that when the report
with the arms shall arrive at Nashville you will
be our best means to have them hastened to this point
with the utmost despatch—having the men who had
been entrusted with the transportation ^{of them} arrested that is
me in confinement.

A. J.

from his headquarters expressed his deep appreciation of the service that the Governor had rendered in the defense of the city. This letter and all other documentary reports and letters of Jackson, as has been observed, indicate a higher degree of scholarship than some historians have attributed to him. An original, virile style is noticeable throughout his addresses, letters and reports, many of which were hastily composed in moments of great excitement and anxiety.

The news of Jackson's victory, celebrated in the City of New Orleans with the gladdest acclaim both in church and public building, was carried across the country to President Madison by the Mississippi Creek War hero, Sam Dale, who out of the trenches where he had fought at times hand to hand with the enemy knew the dread story by heart. From the city of Natchez and the little capital of Washington in the Mississippi Territory which had become posts for the care of British prisoners the news of the victory spread throughout the Territory and the people who had borne the brunt of the war since the fierce Creek uprising spent their time in various forms of rejoicing. Joy also reigned in the hearts of the proud and patriotic Louisiana Creoles who bore the British deeper hatred than that the Americans felt as a whole for the people of the Mother country. That the victory in which they shared so gloriously left the people of Louisiana as a mass truer patriots than when Jackson found them cannot be disputed. While it cannot be ignored that a small element of its population but for Jackson's strict espionage would have at least remained neutral, once enlisted the soldiery whether of Spanish, French or English descent evinced a courage and patriotism that compare favorably with any troops in the field.

At General Jackson's request the Reverend Abbé Dubourg apostolic prefect of Louisiana appointed January 23, as a day of prayer and thanksgiving for, as Jackson so often averred in varied phrasing, the interposition of Providence in granting the blessing of victory to the American arms. The following vivid and charming account of the impressive event is given from Latour; who was a participant in the interesting ceremonies:

Every preparation was made to make the festival worthy of the occasion. The temporary triumphal arch was erected in the middle of the grand square, opposite the principal entrance of the cathedral. The different uniformed companies of Plauché's battalion lined both sides of the way, from the entrance of the square towards the river, to the church. The balconies and windows

of the city hall, the parsonage house, and all the adjacent buildings were filled with spectators. The whole square, and the streets leading to it, were thronged with people. The triumphal arch was supported by six columns. Amongst those on the right was a young lady representing Justice and on the left another representing Liberty. Under the arch were two young children, each on a pedestal, holding a crown of laurel. From the arch in the middle of the square to the church, at proper intervals were arranged young ladies, representing the different States and Territories composing the American Union all dressed in white covered with transparent veils, and wearing a silver star on their foreheads. Each of these young ladies held in her right hand a flag inscribed with the name of the State she represented, and in her left a basket trimmed with blue ribands, and full of flowers. Behind each was a shield suspended on a lance stuck in the ground inscribed with the name of the State or Territory. The intervals had been so calculated, that the shields, linked together with verdant festoons, occupied the distance from the triumphal arch to the church.

General Jackson, accompanied by the officers of his staff, arrived at the entrance of the square, where he was requested to proceed to the church by the walk prepared for him. As he passed under the arch, he received the crowns of laurel from the two children, and was congratulated in an address spoken by Miss Kerr who represented the State of Louisiana. The General then proceeded to the church, amidst the salutations of the young ladies representing the different States, who strewed the passage with flowers. At the entrance of the church he was received by the Abbé Dubourge, who addressed him in a speech suitable to the occasion, and conducted him to a seat prepared for him near the altar. *Te Deum* was chaunted with impressive solemnity, and soon after a guard of honor attended the General to his quarters, and in the evening the town, with its suburbs, was splendidly illuminated.

The address of the reverend Abbé Dubourg and the reply of General Jackson delivered during the impressive thanksgiving ceremonies conducted in the old St. Louis Cathedral are given in full in a note since they better interpret the occasion and the prevailing sentiments than historians have been able to do.⁷³

⁷³ On the arrival of General Jackson in the cathedral accompanied by his staff and all officers the Abbe Dubourg made the following address:

"General, whilst the State of Louisiana in the joyful transports of her gratitude, hails you as her deliverer, and the asserter of her menaced liberties—whilst grateful America so lately wrapped up in anxious suspense on the fate of this important city, the emporium of the wealth of one half of her territory and the true bulwark of its independence, is now re-echoing from shore to shore your splendid achievements, and preparing to inscribe your name on her immortal rolls, among those of her Washingtons—whilst history, poetry, and the monumental arts will vie in consigning to the admiration of the latest posterity, a triumph perhaps unparalleled in their records—whilst thus raised by universal acclamation to the very pinnacle of fame and ascending clouds of incense, how easy it had been for you, General, to forget the prime mover of your wonderful successes, to assume to yourself a praise which must essentially return to that exalted source whence every sort of merit is derived. But better acquainted with the nature of true glory, and justly placing the summit of your ambition in approving yourself the worthy instrument of Heaven's merciful designs, the first impulse of your religious heart was to acknowledge the signal interposition of Providence—your first step is a solemn display of your humble sense of His favors.

"Still agitated at the remembrance of those dreadful agonies from which we

have been so miraculously rescued, it is our pride, also, to acknowledge that the Almighty has truly had the principal hand in our deliverance, and to follow you, General, in attributing to His infinite goodness the homage of our unfeigned gratitude. Let the infatuated votary of a blind chance deride our credulous simplicity; let the cold-hearted atheist look up for the explanation of such important events to the mere concatenation of human causes; to us, the whole universe is loud in proclaiming a supreme Ruler, who as He holds the hearts of man in his hand, holds also the thread of all contingent occurrences. 'Whatever be His intermediate agents,' says an illustrious prelate, 'still on the secret orders of His all-ruling providence, depends the rise and prosperity, as well as the decline and downfall of empire. From His lofty throne above He moves every scene below, now curbing, now letting loose the passions of men, now enfusing His own wisdom into the leaders of Nations, now confounding their boasted prudence, and spreading upon their councils a spirit of intoxication, and thus executing his uncontrollable judgments on men, sons of men, according to the dictates of His own unerring justice.'

"To Him, therefore, our most fervent thanks are due for our late unexpected rescue, and it is Him we chiefly intend to praise, when considering you, General, as the man of His right hand, whom He has taken pains to fit out for the important commission of our defense; we extol the fecundity of genius, by which, in an instant of the most discouraging distress, you created unforeseen resources raised as it were, from the ground, hosts of intrepid warriors and provided every vulnerable point with ample means of defense. To Him we trace that instinctive superiority of your mind, which at once rallied around you universal confidence; impressed one irresistible movement to all the jarring elements of which this political machine is composed; aroused their slumbering spirits, and diffused through every rank that noble ardor which glowed in your own bosom. To Him, in fine we address our acknowledgments for that consummate prudence which defeated all the combinations of a sagacious enemy, and tangled him in the very snares which he had spread before us, and succeeded in effecting his utter destruction, without once exposing the lives of our citizens. Immortal thanks be to His supreme majesty, for sending us such an instrument of His bountiful designs! A gift of that value is the best token of the continuance of His protection—the most solid encouragement to us to sue for new favors. The first which it emboldens us humbly to supplicate as it is the nearer to our throbbing heart is that you may long enjoy, General, the honor of your grateful country, of which you will permit us to present you a pledge in this wreath of laurel, the prize of victory, the symbol of immortality. The next is a speedy and honorable termination of the bloody contest in which we are engaged. No one has so efficaciously laboured as you, General, for the acceleration of that blissful period; may we soon reap that sweetest fruit of your splendid and uninterrupted victories."

To which General Jackson replied: "Reverend Sir, I receive with gratitude and pleasure the symbolical crown which piety has prepared. I receive it in the name of the brave men who have so effectually seconded my exertions for the preservation of their country—they well deserve the laurels which their country will bestow.

"For myself, to have been instrumental in the deliverance of such a country is the greatest blessing that Heaven could confer. That it has been effected with so little loss—that so few tears should cloud the smiles of our triumph, and not a cypress leaf be interwoven in the wreath which you present, is a source of the most exquisite enjoyment.

"I thank you reverend sir, most sincerely for the prayers which you offer up for my happiness. May those your patriotism dictates for our beloved country be first heard. And may mine for your individual prosperity as well as that of the congregation committed to your care, be favourably received—the prosperity, the wealth, the happiness of this city, will then be commensurate with the courage and other qualities of its inhabitants."

General Jackson, though he had been quite high-handed in measures taken for the defense of the city, reducing both man and beast to a state of martial law, withal had been very tactful in his praise and commendation of the doubtful elements among its population. His reports abound in warm praise for all troops from the State of Louisiana. In quite a contrast was this spirit with that manifested by the State legislature towards the saviour of the city. While Governor Claiborne, the people of the city and the devoted soldiery indulged in effusive praise of him, that body which had as a whole refused to coöperate with him in the defense of the city added a further proof of their disfavor by refusing to mention him in the resolution of thanks voted on February 2 to the troops of Tennessee, Kentucky and the Mississippi Territory and their commanders. Quite a number of the members of the legislature, says Eaton, "Sought the trenches and took part in the defense of New Orleans." The majority, however, could not forget that Jackson had ordered the doors of the capital closed against them and while priestly hands were presenting the hero a wreath of laurel and patriotic voices were singing "Hail to the Chief," this Assembly with ruffled dignity remained sullen and unresponsive. Latour is non-critical of the whole situation, and seems disposed to make out a case for all parties concerned. His praise of Jackson throughout is warm and sincere and his memoir of the campaign will continue to be regarded as a dependable source of information.

The Government at Washington was deeply impressed with Jackson's military leadership and no battle fought during the war attracted as much attention in European Courts as did the closing battle of the Coast Campaign. The political forecasters, who are ever watchful for new recruits to their ranks having great faith in their ability in this particular sky to distinguish stars from nebulae, began quietly but persistently pointing to the man in the saddle, a man who had become a popular hero and an idol of the Southern people who were dominant in the governmental affairs of the young Republic at that period.

The following proceedings of the legislature of the State of Mississippi in welcoming General Jackson years later to the State whose new capital had been named in his honor will be read with interest. From Jackson's acceptance one can gather a true impression of the spirit of the Territory during the War of 1812.

Mr. HARRIS, from the Joint-Committee appointed to meet General Andrew Jackson, and welcome him within the borders of this State, Reported—That they had performed that duty, by delivering him an Address, in the following words, to wit:

GENERAL ANDREW JACKSON:

In pursuance of a Joint-Resolution of both Houses of the General Assembly of this State, now convened, in a place bearing your name, we have the honor to address you, as their Committee; and to assure you of a cordial welcome by them within the borders of this State. This manifestation of their pleasure, is founded in the most grateful feelings for the many high and important services you have rendered your country, and particularly the State of Mississippi, which are not confined to your Military achievements, more than your civic services.

We remember with gratitude, when the predatory and savage warfare harrassed us, you were foremost to lay aside domestic ease, and brave the hardships and hazards of war incident to inclement seasons, and the deprivations of a wilderness, to protect our homes and families from savage cruelties.

When we were engaged in a conflict with one of the most powerful Nations of Europe, and they seemed to combine their powers for the extermination of Freedom—it was you, who allayed the asperity of petty parties, and inspired our citizen-soldiers with a confidence which secured the repulsion of an invading foe from the possession and rapine of the great Emporium of our whole Western Commerce, and closed the war with a Halo of Glory which surrounds our Country.

By your counsels have been obtained large and fertile tracts of country—giving homes and comfort to many worthy citizens of this, as well as of our adjoining and sister State, Alabama. This grateful acknowledgment made by so many of your contemporary fellow-citizens, while in the full enjoyment and feeling of their benefits—how pure and extended should be the gratification to a great and virtuous patriot, arising from the reflection, that those benefits will be continued to millions yet unborn, and gratefully acknowledged when you, who have imparted them, shall be mingled with the clods of the valley, and co-extensive with the floating of their commerce on their favorite streams, Mobile, Tennessee, Pearl and Mississippi Rivers?

In conclusion—we assure you of the continuation of our confidence and that our aspirations shall be offered at the Throne, from whence emanates all good, for your future prosperity and happiness.

January 20, 1828.

To which General Jackson replied as follows:

GENTLEMEN:

I have no language to express the gratitude which the kindness of your salutation on the part of both Houses of the Legislature of Mississippi excites in my breast.—While I acknowledge that you set too high a value on, and reward with too liberal a hand, the humble services which Providence enabled me to render my country, I can but admire the generosity of your motives, and hope that it may afford a perpetual and salutary stimulus to public spirit, should future dangers make a demand on the patriotism of our fellow-citizens. When the frontiers of your infant State were pierced and agonized by savage warfare, your Governor and the Legislature I found equally prompt and zealous in the supply of men and means for their defence. When the fairest portion of the Union was invaded by a fierce and ancient foe, 'powerful in the means and habits of war,' your Governor and Legislature, exhaustless in energy and patriotism, poured out the resources of the State, and sent forth her sons to the conflict. The first gave support—the last gave renown to the nation; and their gallant leader⁷⁴—I am proud to see him near me, sharing, as he richly merits, the gratitude and respect of his fellow-

⁷⁴General Thomas Hinds, who on his return from New Orleans in the spring of 1815 had been appointed Brigadier-General of the Mississippi Territorial Militia.

citizens. I beg you, gentlemen, to convey to the honorable Bodies from which you emanate, my humble thanks for their kindness, and the assurance of my sincere respects and consideration; and I also pray you to accept for yourselves, the expressions of esteem and regard with which I salute you.

January 20, 1828.

In connection with General Jackson's visit to the State at this period the following invitation, reproduced from the original, to a ball given in his honor by the wealthy and cultured people of Natchez will, as a bit of social life of that period, be found interesting. The record presented to the Historical Department by Mrs. Walter Sillers, Sr., of Rosedale, Mississippi, is an almost square card somewhat yellowed by time. It contains the national coat of arms beneath which appears in printed form, with the exception of the name of the invited guest which is written in long hand, the following formal invitation:

The pleasure of Miss A. Carson's
company is requested at a BALL, to be given in honor of
GENERAL ANDREW JACKSON,
this Evening at the Mississippi Hotel.

R. H. Adams,	G. Winchester,
H. Chotard,	J. A. M'Pheters,
J. Sprague,	R. L. Throckmorton,
R. G. Ellis,	J. F. Bingaman,
J. Bell,	J. F. H. Claiborne.
R. Archer,	R. M. Gaines.

January 4, 1828

It was in no unfamiliar crowd that Jackson stood at this brilliant reception in his honor. Around him were spirits that had in a large measure made possible the victory by which he had won imperishable fame—spirits that since early manhood had touched his life at many points, had understood him and given him as loyal support as any with whom he ever came in contact. He was on the eve of a great national career and the people of Mississippi vied with those of Tennessee in allegiance and admiration. With the same loyalty and devotion that they had followed his standards in war they now rallied to his support when he sought preferment in peace. They held in the main the same doctrines and faiths, had been bred in the same atmosphere and had grown to be much alike. The author intends no attempt at a detailed character study of Andrew Jackson. In him were to be found many of the great virtues and qualities of George Washington, John Adams and Robert E. Lee. Both the tradition of the Cavalier and Puritan had charmed his fancy. He pos-

sessed in a large measure the deep, inward piety and zeal of Jefferson Davis; scarcely a document, speech or conversation of either that did not evince genuine dependence on Divine Providence. But with all he differed widely from any of these for like Abraham Lincoln he had on distant frontiers been cast and shaped by original influences which made him the first great American.

Of the many who took part in the defense of the City of New Orleans, none wielded a more powerful influence with the exception of Jackson than Louisiana's patriotic Governor W. C. C. Claiborne. The second governor of the Mississippi Territory, he had served with distinguished ability and had endeared himself to its people who followed with feelings of commingled pride and affection his appointment later as Governor of Louisiana. Governor Claiborne's entire public service from 1801 to 1816 is contained in six volumes of documentary history which have been published by the Mississippi Historical Department. His service was such as to render him one of the chief influences in the early history of the Southwest and to no public official on its early roster does Mississippi point with more pride. His descendants still help to make up the best element in the State's population.

Governor David Holmes of the Mississippi Territory, from whose original journals and letter-books many of the facts contained in this narrative are drawn, continued to serve the Territory as Governor after its admission into the Union as a State, December 10, 1817. A sketch of his life and public service may be found in the *Encyclopedia of Mississippi History* while the publication of his manuscript journals is in course of preparation by the Mississippi Historical Department. His every public act was inspired by a strong desire for the welfare of the whole country and his spirit burned with patriotic ardor. The confident manner in which he drew on the people of the Mississippi Territory for assistance and support in the defense of the country is evidence enough that the seed of American nationality had been widely sown in the consciousness of its people. That these had flowered and borne fruit during this second struggle for freedom is very apparent.

It has already been stated that General Ferdinand Leigh Claiborne, after a most arduous service in defense of the country, returned from the Creek War broken in health. His death was the result of an

incurable wound. His patriotism and zeal in defense of the Territory places his name in its annals with the framers and shapers of its destiny. A brother of Governor W. C. C. Claiborne, there was much in common between the two. In their public service one sees reflected the best ideals of the civilization of their day, while in their patriotism and ardor were to be found a devotion and knightliness as fervent and fascinating as that which had burned the breast of Richard Cœur de Lion.

It is to Colonel Thomas Hinds⁷⁵ that we turn for the last figure with which to close this narrative. After his return from New Orleans in the spring of 1815, he was appointed by the President, Brigadier-General of the Mississippi Territorial Militia. The General Assembly of the Territory adopted the following joint resolution, December 18, 1815:

That the patriotism, bravery and promptitude displayed by Brigadier-General Thomas Hinds, while acting Colonel of Cavalry in the defense of New Orleans, entitle him to our warmest acknowledgments and gratitude; and that a suitable sword be provided at the expense of the Territory and presented under the direction of His Excellency the Governor to the said Brigadier-General as a testimonial of the high sense which the people of this Territory entertain of his services and of his brave companions in arms.

In transmitting the vote of thanks of the Louisiana Legislature, Governor Claiborne wrote that it

Brings to my recollection the satisfaction I experienced more than twelve years ago on signing the commission which ushered your military talents into light.

Under the first militia law of the State in 1818 he was continued in the highest militia office, that of Major-General, from which he resigned in December, 1819. In 1820 he was joint commissioner with Andrew Jackson to make a treaty with the Choctaws by which a large area of land was granted after two previous failures. In his acceptance he expresses the highest confidence in General Jackson and when notified of his appointment, Jackson wrote: "There is no man I would rather be associated with than General Hinds, nor none in whom I have more confidence." The vast territory that had been acquired was named Hinds in his honor.

⁷⁵After being placed in command of all of Jackson's cavalry, Thomas Hinds assumed the rank of Colonel, though historians give him variously the rank of Major and Colonel in their narratives. He bore all through his later life the title of General, having been promoted to this rank by General Holmes.

In 1819 he was a candidate for governor with Daniel Burnet for lieutenant-governor, but his opponent, George Poindexter, was elected.⁷⁶ He was a member of the legislature in 1823, was elected to Congress to succeed William Haile and re-elected, serving from December 8, 1828 to March 3, 1831. When Poindexter proposed to defeat the confirmation of President Jackson's nomination of William M. Gwin as United States Marshal for Mississippi in 1833, the President sent in Hinds' name for the place. Poindexter withdrew his opposition to Gwin and the name of Hinds was withdrawn. Afterwards General Hinds was proposed as a candidate for United States Senator in 1835 against Poindexter, but was induced to decline in favor of Robert J. Walker.

General Hinds died at "Old Greenville," Jefferson County, August 23, 1840. During his life he was pre-eminently the military hero of Mississippi. J. F. H. Claiborne described him as "one of the most intrepid men that ever lived." The following estimate is taken from an obituary notice published in *The Mississippian*, of September 4, 1840:

Although a warm partisan, he enjoyed the unbounded confidence of all parties, and it is believed that he died without leaving a personal enemy. His hospitality was unbounded and few men enjoyed in an equal degree the affectionate regard of all his acquaintances. His wife died many years since and he leaves an only child, a son, to mourn his loss. Many of his soldiers who shared his toil and his glory survive him and still reside in this State—some of them scarred with honorable wounds. Few regiments underwent as many hardships—none covered themselves with more glory.

With deep regret we announce that this esteemed citizen and old soldier is no more. Eulogy upon this truly good and brave man is unnecessary from us. It is well known that he was with Jackson throughout his last campaign against the British and that during the whole of the late war he rendered his country great service and gained for himself distinguished honors. In short, his life was devoted to the common good and all those who revere bravery will mourn his loss. We learn that he died from the rupture of a blood vessel.

The following notice of the death of General Hinds is taken from the *Free Trader* of August, 1840:

On Saturday, the 29th instant, at 2 o'clock, a large meeting of the citizens of Adams County convened at the court house in Natchez to do honor to the name and memory of Gen. THOMAS HINDS, who died at his residence in Jefferson County on Sunday, the 23rd of August. On motion of Judge George Winchester, Col. James C. Wilkins was called to the chair and on motion of Gen. John A. Quitman,

⁷⁶ A striking instance of the inconsistencies of political favoritisms is shown in the fact that Poindexter had made a poor reputation as a soldier in the War of 1812 while Thomas Hinds had reflected great honor on the state.

Col. Adam L. Bingaman was appointed Secretary. Col. Wilkins, on taking the chair, read the notice given through the press and explained the object of the meeting.

Gen. Quitman rose and addressed the audience on the life and character of Gen. Hinds and concluded by submitting to the meeting a series of resolutions which were read, and upon motion referred to a committee composed of the following gentlemen: Judge George Winchester, Gen. John A. Quitman, Gen. P. L. Mitchell, Lieut. Thomas S. Munce, Thomas Armat, Esq., and Col. James C. Wilkins. The committee, through their chairman, Judge Winchester, reported the resolutions offered by Gen. Quitman, with one other, which were read and unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the heroic military deeds of the late lamented General Thomas Hinds, while commanding a corps of Mississippi volunteers in defence of his country during the last war with Great Britain, sheds a lustre upon the arms of this State which should cause its citizen soldiers ever to hold his memory in proud and grateful remembrance.

Resolved, That during a long life of public and private usefulness, amid the storms and conflicts of party excitement, in which his frank, ardent and bold temperament led him to take an active part, the lamented deceased always merited and retained the confidence and affection of his fellow-citizens for his patriotism, his benevolence, his candor and stern integrity.

Resolved, That the name of Gen. Thomas Hinds belongs to Mississippi and will ever be enrolled in bright characters in the pages of her early history and his memory cherished among us, while honor, chivalry and worth are respected and admired.

Resolved, That we deeply sympathize with the family and relatives of the deceased veteran upon this melancholy event and mingle with theirs our tears for the loss which they themselves and our State have sustained.

Resolved, That it be recommended to the several volunteer corps of this regiment at their next parade to appear in military mourning in honor of the deceased.

Resolved, That the chairman cause these resolutions to be published and copies to be sent to the family of the deceased.

JAMES C. WILKINS, Ch'm.

ADAM L. BINGAMAN, Sec'y.

Near the site of "Old Greenville," in a secluded plantation graveyard, the usual type of burial ground in the ante-bellum period, General Thomas Hinds was buried beside his wife, Malinda Marston Green.⁷⁷ His deeds are interwoven with the early history of the State.

The heroic assistance that he gave General Andrew Jackson in successfully resisting the British in their attempt to invade the South during the War of 1812 is a story of valor difficult to tell. Not only his deeds have made illustrious our annals in this struggle for freedom but every name on the roster presented here was borne by a pioneer hero whose defense of the Republic at a time when the spirit of nationality had not become uniform nor solidified makes a remarkable chapter in American history.

⁷⁷ This isolated spot has been recently marked by the people of Jefferson County.

ROLLS OF MISSISSIPPI COMMANDS IN THE WAR OF 1812.

HINDS' BATTALION OF CAVALRY, MISSISSIPPI MILITIA

Captain John Doherty's Company
 Captain Henry Dunn's Company
 Captain Samuel Gerald's Company
 Captain James Kempe's Company
 Captain John G. Richardson's Company
 Captain John J. W. Ross' Company
 Captain Jedediah Smith's Company

Alexander, Robert, private	Bowman, Ira, private
Alford, Robert, private	Braden, Joseph, private
Alfred (nigger), servant	Bradford, David, private
Allen, — — — —, servant	Bradford, James M., private
Allred, John, private	Bradford, Leonard, corporal
Anderson, Benjamin, corporal	Brashears, Nathan, private
Anderson, John, private	Brice, James, private
Anderson, William, private	Bridges, William, private
Andrews, Henry, sergeant	Brooks, Edward, dragoon
Anthony, — — — —, servant	Brophy, John, private
Austin, Ozias, sergeant	Brown, James, private
Bald, Sampson, private	Bruin, Preston, private
Barnett, John, private	Brunson, Daniel, private
Baty, Thomas, private	Bryant, William, private
Benjamin (nigger), servant	Buck, William, dragoon
Benoist, Robert, sergeant	Burch, Washington, private
Berry, Thomas, private	Burnett, James, private
Bettis, Richard, Jr., private	Burnett, John, private
Bill, — — — —, servant	Burrows, William, corporal
Bingaman, Ad, private	Butler, Aaron, private
Binum, Francis A., sergeant	Cain, Isaiah, private
Bisland, James, dragoon	Cain, James, private
Bisland, Peter, first lieutenant	Calaham, John, private
Bland, Isaac, private	Caldwell, George, private
Blanton, William, private	Calvett, Saul, private
Boardman, Charles, cornet	Calvit, James, private
Boardman, Francis, private	Calvit, Montfort, dragoon
Boatner, William J., first sergeant	Calvit, Samuel, first lieutenant and adjutant
Bob (Captains Boy), private	Calvit, Tacitus, quartermaster service
Bolls, James, private	Campbell, Allen, private
Boone, John, private	Campbell, John, private
Boone, Joseph H., private	Carney, Thomas, private
Booth, Joseph, private	Carpenter, James, sergeant
Boston, — — — —, servant	Carson, William, private
Bowie, John F., sergeant major	Carter, Parsons, cornet
Bowling, Arthur, private	

- Cater, John, private
 Cater, Josiah, corporal
 Chancey, Lewis, private
 Charles, — — — —, servant
 Christopher, — — — —, servant
 Cissna, James, private
 Clay, Marston, sergeant-trumpeter
 Coates, Austin, private
 Coatney, Jonas, private
 Cocks, Charles, private
 Cocks, Seth, private
 Coleman, Isaiah, private
 Coleman, Nathaniel, private
 Collier, Benjamin S., private
 Collins, Parker S., private
 Collins, William, corporal
 Combs, John P., sergeant
 Cook, Edward, private
 Cooper, Hugh W., private
 Corbell, James H., private
 Corbell, Peter, private
 Corley, Henry, private
 Cotton, Haley, private
 Cotton, John, private
 Crawford, Alexander, private
 Crawford, Henderson, private
 Crookes, John, private
 Culpepper, John, private
 Cuming, David B., dragoon
 Curry, Malcolm, private
 Dangerfield, William, dragoon
 Daniels, Shem, private
 Daughtry, Bryant, private
 David, David, second lieutenant
 Davis, Gideon, private
 Davis, Green B., corporal
 Davis, Isaac W., private
 Davis, Joseph E., private
 Davis, Samuel, private
 Debell, Benjamin H., sergeant
 Decell, George J., private
 Defrance, Abraham, musician
 Derry (nigger), servant
 Dick, — — — —, servant
 Dickson, Michael, private
 Dixon, John, sergeant
 Dixon, John, private
 Doherty, John, captain
 Donahoe, Charles, private
 Dortch, David, private
 Downing, David, surgeon
 Downs, George, private
 Dreadin, Jonathin, private
 Dromgoole, William A., private
 Duck, Ephraim, dragoon
 Dubar, Isaac, 2nd lieu.
 Dunbar, Roberts, cap.
 Dunn, Henry, captain
 Edwards, Thomas, private
 Elmore, Daniel, private
 Erwin, John, private
 Erwin, William, corporal
 Fair, James, private
 Fairbanks, David, private
 Fake, Henry, private
 Fake, Thomas, private
 Ferguson, Augustus, private
 Ferguson, John, sergeant
 Ferguson, Robert, private
 Ferguson, Samuel, private
 Findlay, Alexander, private
 Finley, Joseph L., private
 Fleming, Robert, private
 Fletcher, James, private
 Flinn, Samuel, private
 Flower, James, second lieutenant
 Foreman, Abraham, private
 Fort, John, private
 Foster, Shadrach, private
 Foster, Zadock S., private
 Freeman, George, private
 Fretwell, Richard, private
 Fristoe, John, private
 Fulks, William, private
 Funk, John C., private
 Fuqua, Drury, private
 Gale, Joseph, private
 Gardner, Bartholomew, private
 Garredee, William, private
 Gates, Elisha, private
 Gaulden, Zachariah, first lieutenant
 Gayden, Cadesby, first lieutenant
 Gayden, Griffin, musician
 Gerald, George, corporal

Gerald, Jesse, cornet	Henderson, William, private
Gerald, Samuel, captain	Hester, Charles, private
Gibson, Clausius, corporal	Hewey, James, private
Gilbert, James, private	Hinds, Thomas, lieutenant-colonel
Gilbert, James W., sergeant	Hodge, William, corporal
Gilbert, Philip A., private	Hogg, Holland, private
Gilbert, Thomas, dragoon	Holloman, Kinchen, private
Gillespie, John F., sergeant	Holloman, Michael, private
Gilmore, George, private	Holloway, Reuben, private
Ginn, Edmund, private	Horn, Moses, private
Ginn, Edwin, private	Howard, Thomas, private
Girault, John R., private	Howell, James, private
Given, George W., saddler	Huey, Daniel, private
Glasscock, Peter R., dragoon	Humes, Robert, dragoon
Gober, Cradic, private	Hunt, Hedry, adjutant
Gower, Elisha, private	Hunt, Henry, sergeant
Grady, John G., sergeant	Hunter, Pleasant H., first lieutenant
Grafton, Thomas, private	Hunter, William, private
Graham, Zachariah G., private	Husbands, Thomas L., corporal
Green (negro), servant	Huston, James, private
Green, Richard M., private	Hynum, James, private
Green, Robert, dragoon	Irvin, John L., second lieutenant
Green, Thomas M., private	Irvin, Reason W., sergeant
Griffin, Mitchel, private	Isaac, — — — —, servant
Griffin, Stephen, private	Ivey, Samuel, second lieutenant
Guest, Samuel, private	Jackson, Willey, second lieutenant
Hadly, Joshua, private	Jeffry, — — — —, servant
Hamilton, John C., dragoon	Jerry, — — — —, servant
Hampton, John P., private	John, — — — —, servant
Hancock, George, private	Johnson, Charles G., sergeant
Hanson, William, private	Johnson, John, sergeant
Harper, Absolom, sergeant	Johnson, William A., private
Harper, Jesse, private	Joice, Absalom, private
Harper, Samuel, private	Jones, James, private
Harris, Levi C., private	Jones, Sterling, private
Harrison, Hay B., corporal-cornet	Jones, Zachariah B., private
Harrison, Philip B., sergeant	Joor, John, cornet
Harrison, Richard, private	Jordan, Charles H., private
Harrison, Robert L., sergeant	Keith, James, private
Hatfield, William F., sergeant	Keller, George, private
Hawkins, Richard, private	Keller, George, Jr., private
Haynes, Charles, private	Keller, George, Sr., private
Haynes, George, private	Keller, Jacob, private
Hays, Jacob, private	Keller, John, private
Head, Elbt. G., corporal	Keller, Joseph, private
Henderson, Alexander, private	Keller, Thomas, private

Keller, Thomas, private	Morris, John, dragoon
Kelsey, Thomas, private	Mumford, James, private
Kempe, James, captain	Murray, Alexander, first lieutenant
Kemper, Reuben, private	Neel, John, private
Kemper, Samuel, private	Neiff, Charles, private
Ker, David, sergeant	Nesmith, Robert, private
Kirkland, Isaac, dragoon	Nettles, Z. B., private
Kitchen, Benjamin F., sergeant	Nicholls, James, private
Lambert, Moses, private	Noland, Jeremiah, private
Lanchart, Abraham, private	Noland, William, private
Lape, John, trumpeter	Norman, Thomas, private
Levis, William P., surgeon	Norman, William, corporal
Lewis, Joseph D., dragoon	Norment, William, private
Linton, Thomas M., private	Norris, James L., private
Lisenby, Henry, private	Oats, John, private
Love, Charles, private	Odum, John, private
Love, John J., private	Ogden, Isaac, private
Lowry, Robert, first lieutenant	Oliphant, James, private
Madray, William, private	Oneal, Edmund, private
Magruder, Leonard, private	Oneal, John, private
March, — — — —, servant	Owens, Alexander, private
Marley, Samuel, private	Owens, Stephen, private
Martin, John, private	Pannill, A. W., private
McAllister, Thomas, private	Paul, — — — —, servant
McAlpin, John, sergeant	Paxton, John, private
McCay, Robert, private	Peck, Patrick, private
McClellan, Walter, first lieutenant	Perkin, I. W., dragoon
McComas, I. H., Quartermaster	Peter, — — — —, servant
McDermott, Thomas, private	Phelps, John, dragoon
McDonald, Elam H., corporal	Phelps, Samuel, dragoon
McDonald, Thomas O., sergeant	Phillips, Baker, corporal
McGuhu, Nath, second lieutenant	Picket, Thomas K., private
McLaughlin, Patrick, trumpeter	Pipes, David, private
McMahan, Jesse, private	Pitchford, Samuel, private
McMicken, Chs., Jr., private	Platner, Henry, private
Miller, Benjamin, dragoon	Pool, Robert, private
Miller, John, private	Presler, Peter, private
Miller, Thomas M., private	Prince, John, private
Moncrief, Sampson, private	Prince, John G. T., dragoon
Montgomery, Davis, private	Prince, William B., private
Montgomery, Hugh, private	Raburn, Burrel, private
Moor, Ezekiel, private	Rawlings, Thomas, private
Moore, John K., corporal	Reed, James, private
Moore, Joseph, private	Reed, Stephen, private
Moore, Joseph B., private	Reed, William, corporal
Morgan, William, private	Richardson, James B., private

Richardson, Jared N., corporal	Smith, Reuben, sergeant
Richardson, John G., captain	Smith, William, dragoon
Richardson, Richard, private	Smylie, Matthew, private
Richardson, William A., private	Snodgrass, John, dragoon
Riley, Isaac, private	Spain, James, cornet
Roach, Benjamin, dragoon	Spain, Richard, private
Roach, William, dragoon	Spain, Thomas, private
Roberts, Abner, dragoon	Steele, Robert, private
Roberts, William, sergeant	Stewart, David B., private
Robertson, Thomas, corporal	Stoker, Henry, private
Robinson, James, private	Stoker, Matthew, private
Rose, Enoch M., private	Stout, James, sergeant
Rose, Philip, private	Straughan, James, private
Ross, John J. W., captain	Straughan, James F., private
Ruben, — — — —, sergeant	Stroud, Dixon, private
Ruth, James, private	Stubblefield, W., private
Ruth, John, private	Sullivan, James, private
Samples, Moses, private	Talbert, Lewis, sergeant
Sanders, James, private	Taylor, Robert, private
Sanders, Joseph, sergeant	Terry, James, private
Scott, Cason, sergeant	Terry, William, private
Scott, John, private	Terry, William, private
Scott, Richard, private	Thames, Timothy, sergeant
Scott, Thomas, private	Thomas, William P., private
Scott, Thomas, private	Thompson, Littleberry, private
Scurlock, Thomas M., sergeant	Thompson, Roland, sergeant
Scurry, Eli, private	Tiernan, Peter, first lieutenant and quartermaster
Seales, Enoch, private	Tomlinson, John, private
Seales, James, cornet	Tomlinson, Thomas, private
Sellers, Silas, private	Tredwell, William, private
Selman, Joel, private	Trimble, Michael W., corporal
Selman, William, dragoon	Truly, James B., sergeant
Semple, James, corporal	Truly, John H., private
Shanks, John H., sergeant	Tucker, William, private
Shaw, Jones, private	Vaughan, Thomas C., private
Shaw, Malcomb, private	Vaughn, David, private
Silcock, John, private	Vining, Jephtha, private
Simmons, John J., corporal	Watkins, Samuel W., private
Simmons, Samuel B., private	Watson, John, private
Simon, — — — —, servant	Watson, Malcom, private
Smith, Benjamin, sergeant	Watt, — — — —, servant
Smith, James, private	Weatherby, G. W., saddler
Smith, Jedediah, captain	Werden, Robert, sword master
Smith, John, private	West, Charles, dragoon
Smith, Joseph A., private	West, Thomas, dragoon
Smith, Josephus, private	

Westberry, William, private
 Whetstone, Joseph, musician
 Whetstone, Josiah, trumpeter
 Whitaker, James, private
 White, Jacob, private
 Whittington, Levi, private
 Wilkinson, G. F., corporal
 Will, — — —, servant
 Williams, Andrew, private
 Williams, James, private

Williams, William, private
 Willis, Thomas, private
 Wilson, James, private
 Wilson, John, private
 Wilson, Nathaniel, private
 Winston, Samuel L., cornet
 Woodruff, Clarke, corporal
 Worthy, John, sergeant
 Worthy, John, private
 Young, Joseph, corporal

LIEUTENANT DRURY M. ALLEN'S COMPANY OF MOUNTED GUNMEN

Allen, Drury M., lieutenant
 Box, James, private
 Briant, John, private
 Brown, Alexander, private
 Brown, Thomas G., private
 Crage, John, private
 Dublin, James, private
 Ferrell, David, private
 Ice, Thomas, private
 Lancaster, Aaron, private
 Lancaster, Thomas, private
 Landers, Henry, private
 Leonax, Nathan, private

Markham, Arthur, private
 Morris, Elisha, private
 Prude, John, private
 Reed, Levi, private
 Robinson, Ephraim, corporal
 Robinson, Michael, private
 Robinson, William, private
 Rodgers, George, private
 Simmons, Thomas, private
 Taylor, Isaac, private
 Vernon, Amos, private
 Ware, Bennett, private
 Wilson, James, private

CAPTAIN BOYLE'S COMPANY OF MOUNTED SPIES

Adcock, John, private
 Adcock, Lewis, private
 Adcock, Reuben, private
 Beckum, Joshua, private
 Boyle, Thomas H., captain
 Byrne, Thomas, private
 Christin, Cary, private

Langham, James, private
 Milton, Andrew, private
 Mims, William, private
 Moye, Jason, private
 Stedham, Edward, private
 Stiggins, George, sergeant
 Williams, Thomas, private

CAPTAIN BRADBERRY'S COMPANY OF MOUNTED SPIES

Autry, Alexander, sergeant
 Bradberry, James, captain
 Davis, Wiley, private
 Dodd, Jesse, private

Jackson, Henry, private
 Perry, Wilson, private
 Walker, Daniel, private
 Walker, Mathias, private

CAPTAIN CALVIT'S COMPANY OF MOUNTED INFANTRY

Ardrey, Joseph, private
 Byrd, Josiah, private
 Calvit, Alexander, captain

Calvit, Montford, private
 Castles, Henry H., private
 Corbell, John H., private

Cox, Henry H., first lieutenant
 Ford, John S., private
 Ford, Thomas, corporal
 Fretwell, John, private
 Gibbs, George W., private
 Griffin, Thomas, private
 Hawley, John, private
 Johnson, Jordan, private
 Jones, Willie, sergeant
 Lawson, Charles M., private
 Lewis, James T., private
 Lusk, Amos, private
 Madding, Albert, private

Montgomery, Samuel K., private
 Neylon, David, private
 Powell, Jonathan, private
 Powell, Thomas W., sergeant
 Selser, Josiah, corporal
 Sissions, Boon, private
 Sojourner, Hardy, private
 Sojourner, William, sergeant
 Steele, John, corporal
 Whitaker, Isaac, private
 Wilborne, Thomas, private
 Wilson, Daniel, private

CAPTAIN CASSITY'S COMPANY OF MOUNTED SPIES

Cassity, Hugh, captain
 Cole, Armistead, private
 Cole, William, private
 Curran, John, private

Easley, Edward, private
 Easley, Samuel, private
 Williams, James, private

CAPTAIN FOSTER'S COMPANY OF MOUNTED INFANTRY

Arnold, Benjamin, private
 Blackwell, David, private
 Blackwell, James, private
 Brashears, Samuel, private
 Brewster, James, private
 Callier, Robert, Lieutenant
 Cobb, James, private
 Dassa, James, private
 Dean, John, private
 Eades, John, private
 Foster, Arthur, captain
 Foster, William, sergeant
 Hamrick, Burrell, private
 Hays, Mark, private

Herrald, H., private
 Jones, William, private
 Laughlin, William, private
 Mathews, Samuel, private
 Roberts, L., private
 Simmons, Elisha, private
 Simmons, James, private
 Smith, Samuel, private
 Stean, Newberry, private
 Willson, James, private
 Wilson, William, private
 Wood, John, sergeant
 Woodard, John, private

CAPTAIN WILKINS' RIFLE COMPANY

Alexander, William S., first lieutenant
 Anderson, Thomas, corporal
 Baillie, Alexander, private
 Banks, George D., private
 Barland, Adam, private
 Barland, William, private
 Ben, — — — —, servant
 Benjamin, Adam L., first sergeant

Brice, William, private
 Brown, Archibald, private
 Burgett, John, private
 Bynum, Francis A., private
 Bynum, Wade H. T., private
 Campbell, Anthony, first lieutenant
 Cock, Pleasant B., private
 Cook, James K., private

Dunlap, Joseph, private
 Durr, Jacob, private
 Gloss, William, private
 Godiew, Firman, private
 Goodwyn, James T., private
 Grant, William, private
 Hall, Nicholas C., private
 Hill, Moses Lloyd, corporal
 Hugot, Joseph, private
 Jackson, Washington, sergeant
 Lehman, William E., private
 Mack, — — —, sergeant
 McAdams, David, private
 McCracken, George, private
 McCreary, Hugh, private
 McElroy, John, private
 McQuiddy, Thomas, sergeant
 Metcalf, John, sergeant
 Morrison, Joseph, private
 Nichols, Philo, private
 O'Neal, Anthony W., private
 Paimboeuf, Lewis, private
 Patterson, Samuel, corporal
 Pomett, Joseph, private

Purnell, John M., private
 Quiglis, Joseph, private
 Reeves, Marmaduke, private
 Robinson, J. W., private
 Routh, John, private
 Rutherford, Joseph H., corporal
 Scott, Robert, private
 Searcy, Rob, private
 Shattuck, Benjamin L., private
 Smith, Ralph, private
 Smoot, Thomas N., sergeant
 Sneed, Jesse, private
 Sterne, Peyton, private
 Surgett, James, private
 Thompson, William, private
 Tremoulet, B., private
 Vansant, Richard, private
 Vidal, Joseph, private
 West, G. B., private
 Wilkins, James C., captain
 Williams, Hugh R., private
 Winston, Samuel L., ensign
 Woodward, Daniel, private

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL NIXON'S REGIMENT

Aarons, Joshua, private
 Adams, Isaac, private
 Adams, John, private
 Adams, William, private
 Adcock, Reuben, private
 Alexander, Robert, Ensign
 Allen, William, private
 Allison, William, private
 Anderson, Absalom, private
 Anderson, Harriss, corporal
 Anderson, John, private
 Anderson, Robert, sergeant
 Anderson, Samuel, private
 Anding, George, private
 Anding, John, private
 Andrews, Clevers, private
 Andrews, Philo, quartermaster
 Applewhite, Stephen, corporal
 Armstrong, William private
 Arnold, James, private

Arthurs, George, corporal
 Ashton, Henry, corporal
 Ashwell, Solomon, private
 Asque, Henry, private
 Babcock, Jesse, private
 Bagby, John, sergeant
 Baker, John, private
 Baker, Joseph, private
 Baldridge, Francis, private
 Baley, James, private
 Ball, Sampson E., corporal
 Ball, Spencer, private
 Ballard, Lewis, private
 Ballard, Nathan, private
 Bankston, James, private
 Barker, David, private
 Barksdale, Richard H., private
 Barnes, John, private
 Barnes, Samuel, private
 Barnes, Thomas, private

Barnett, Joshua, private
 Bass, Robert, private
 Batchelder, Samuel, captain
 Bates, Elijah, private
 Batson, Seth, private
 Beauford, Bird, private
 Beason, William, private
 Beaty, Thomas, corporal
 Beck, John, private
 Bell, William, private
 Bender, Lot, private
 Bennett, David, corporal
 Bennett, Henry, private
 Benson, James, private
 Benson, Samuel, private
 Berkley, Abraham, private
 Bernard, Heslen, private
 Berry, John, private
 Berry, Middleton, corporal
 Berry, Thomas, private
 Berry, Young, sergeant
 Biggs, David, corporal
 Biggs, James, private
 Bill, — — —, waiter
 Binum, Parham T., private
 Black, George, private
 Blackman, Carrol, private
 Blackman, Peter, corporal
 Block, George, private
 Bond, James, ensign
 Bond, John, captain
 Bond, Moses, private
 Bond, William, private
 Booth, John, private
 Bossley, William, private
 Bostwick, Nathaniel, private
 Bowie, John, private
 Bowie, John F., adjutant
 Bowling, Arthur, sergeant
 Bradey, Samuel, private
 Bradley, Luther, sergeant
 Bradshaw, Richard, private
 Brady, William, private
 Brandon, Joseph, private
 Brazil, Isham, private
 Breland, Hilry, private

Brewer, Osborn, private
 Brice, James, private
 Bridgers, William sergeant
 Bridges, John, private
 Briley, Job, private
 Brimmer, Charles, sergeant
 Briscoe, Parmenas, captain
 Britton, James, private
 Brooks, Charles, private
 Brooks, Joseph, private
 Brown, George, private
 Brown, James, private
 Brown, Jesse, corporal
 Brown, John, corporal
 Brown, John, private
 Brown, John A., private
 Brown, Moses, private
 Brown, Wylie, private
 Buchanan, John, private
 Buchanan, Hector, private
 Buck, John F., private
 Buckley, John, private
 Buckley, William C., private
 Buford, Josiah, private
 Bullock, James, private
 Burch, William H., private
 Burk, James, private
 Burk, Martin, private
 Burk, William, private
 Burnett, John, private
 Burney, Joseph, private
 Burnham, Gabriel, private
 Burns, James, corporal
 Burns, John, drummer
 Cade, William, private
 Cain, William, private
 Calcote, James, private
 Calvit, Stephen, corporal
 Campbell, Silas, private
 Carney, Jerry, corporal
 Carpenter, Solomon, private
 Carroll, William, private
 Carson, Samuel M., private
 Carson, William, private
 Carter, Isaac, private
 Carter, Marcus E., private

- Carter, Mashak, private
 Carter, Moses, private
 Case, Joseph, private
 Cashin, Lawrence, private
 Cassells, Henry, major
 Catoo, Wyche, private
 Causey, Jonas, private
 Causey, Solomon, private
 Causey, William, private
 Ceaser, Reuben, private
 Chambers, Israel, private
 Chaney, Ausbon, private
 Chapman, George, private
 Cheatham, Thomas R., corporal
 Cheek, Henry H., Lieutenant
 Chestnut, David, private
 Chisholm, Cockburn, private
 Clark, Lewis, private
 Clark, William, private
 Clarke, John, private
 Clarke, Thomas, private
 Clayton, Samuel, private
 Clear, John, private
 Cobb, Frederick, private
 Cockerham, Benjamin, private
 Cockerham, David, private
 Cockerham, George, private
 Coddle, William, private
 Coker, Bryant, private
 Cole, Mason G., private
 Coleman, George, private
 Coleman, Levi, private
 Coleman, Nathaniel, private
 Coleman, Robert, private
 Collier, Vines L., ensign
 Collins, John, private
 Collins, Joshua, private
 Collins, William, private
 Colvinn, Andrew, private
 Conner, Thomas, corporal
 Cook, Isaac, private
 Cook, Matthew, private
 Cook, Tirey, private
 Cooper, Jesse, private
 Cooper, William, private
 Cooper, Hamelton, private
 Cooper, John, private
 Copeland, Moses, private
 Corley, Henry, private
 Cotton, Eli, private
 Cotton, Willis, private
 Coulter, William E., fifer
 Courtney, James, private
 Coward, Hezekiah, private
 Cowen, John, corporal
 Cox, Ignatius, private
 Cox, Kullin, private
 Cozby, William, private
 Craven, William, private
 Cravens, Michael, private
 Crawford, William, private
 Crumpton, William, private
 Culby, James, drum major
 Culwell, Thomas, sergeant
 Cup, Michael, private
 Currie, Malcome, ensign
 Curry, Robert, sergeant
 Curtis, Reuben, private
 Dadon, Chevalier, private
 Daniels, Shem L., private
 Darden, Washington, captain
 Dagghdrell, John, private
 Davis, David, private
 Davis, James, private
 Davis, John, private
 Davis, John, private
 Davis, Joseph, private
 Davis, Robert P., private
 Davis, Samuel, private
 Davis, Zacheus, corporal
 Dawson, Thomas, ensign
 Day, Benjamin B., private
 Dean, John, private
 DeGraftenreed, Francis, private
 Delaney, William, private
 Delling, Willis, private
 Delvach, Jesse, private
 Dennis, George P., private
 Dennis, James, private
 Denton, James, private
 Desha, Benjamin, private
 Devine, William, private

Dixon, Shadrack, private	Farley, Elihu, private
Dodd, John, first lieutenant	Farrar, Dennis B., private
Donahoe, John, private	Fatheree, Reading, corporal
Donley, William, private	Ferguson, Edward, private
Donchoo, Charles, private	Ferguson, William, private
Doss, Henry, corporal	Ferrell, Daniel, sergeant
Douthill, Jedikial, private	Ferrell, John, sergeant
Dowling, John, private	Ferry, John, private
Downs, Jeremiah, captain	Fielder, William, private
Drake, Edmund, sergeant	Fields, James, private
Drear, Christopher, private	Finney, John, private
Druyard, Antonio, private	Flemming, William, private
Dukes, Jephtha, private	Flowers, James, private
Dunnum, Robert C., corporal	Ford, Absalom, sergeant
Durant, Locklin, private	Ford, Joseph, private
Durdoe, Clement, private	Fountain, William M., sergeant
Duvall, John, private	Fuller, Oliver W., fife major
Dyer, Absalom, private	Fuller, Richard, corporal
Dyer, Obadiah, private	Futch, Onesemus, private
Eastin, Thomas, first Lieutenant and quartermaster	Gardner, William, sergeant
Edmond, — — — —, waiter	Garlington, Benjamin, musician
Edwards, Everett, private	Garrada, William, private
Edwards, Jesse, private	Gatling, John, private
Edwards, Matthew, corporal	German, Presley, private
Elkins, Ralph, private	Germany, Benjamin, private
Elliot, John, private	Germany, Washington, sergeant
Elliott, Samuel, private	Gibson, Michael, private
Ellis, Stephen, private	Gibson, Reuben, private
Ellison, William, private	Gilbert, Philip, private
Ellmore, George, private	Gilbert, William, private
Elmore, John, private	Gilchrist, Malcolm, sergeant major
Embrey, Elijah, private	Gillaspie, Robert, ensign
Emery, William, private	Gillman, James, private
Eubanks, John, private	Gilmore, George, private
Evans, Gideon I., corporal	Glassburn, Godfrey, captain
Evans, Isaac, private	Glasscock, Elijah, private
Evans, John, first sergeant	Gold, William, private
Evans, William, private	Goodson, Benjamin, private
Ewell, Reuben, private	Goodson, James, trumpeter
Ewell, William, sergeant	Gordon, John M., private
Fagan, William, private	Gordon, Sandy, private
Fairman, Benjamin, private	Gradey, William, private
Fake, John, private	Graham, George, private
Fanner, Joseph D., private	Graham, James, private
Farchild, John, private	Graham, William, corporal
	Graves, Augustus A., private

- Gray, David I., private
 Gray, George, private
 Gray, John, private
 Grayson, Robert, private
 Green, Ephraim, trumpeter
 Green, John, private
 Green, Leonard, private
 Green, William, private
 Greenlee, Elisha, private
 Griffen, David, private
 Grigg, Hervey, sergeant
 Grimes, William, private
 Groves, Moses, private
 Groves, Richard, private
 Guice, Jesse, private
 Guice, Jonathan, private
 Haddon, Thomas, private
 Hale, Thomas, private
 Hamberlin, Anthony, private
 Hammond, Joshua, private
 Handbury, Moses, private
 Harden, Abraham, private
 Hardin, Jeremiah, corporal
 Harkness, Richard, private
 Harleston, Solomon, private
 Harmon, James, private
 Harmon, Joseph, private
 Harrill, Edward, private
 Harrison, Lewis, private
 Harrison, William, private
 Harriss, Edward, private
 Harry, — — —, servant
 Hartley, Francis, private
 Harvey, Lemuel, private
 Harvey, Nehemiah, sergeant
 Harvey, Richard, private
 Hatton, John, private
 Havard, David, private
 Havens, James, private
 Havens, Joseph, private
 Hawk, John, private
 Haynes, George, private
 Hays, Nathaniel, private
 Heath, Joseph, sergeant
 Hemby, James, private
 Henderson, Joseph, private
 Henderson, Samuel, sergeant
 Henning, Robert, private
 Herbert, William, sergeant
 Herring, Samuel, private
 Hickling, Robert, private
 Higgins, Moses, private
 Hill, Jacob, sergeant
 Hill, William, private
 Hilliard, Reuben, corporal
 Hilson, Silas, first lieutenant
 Hilton, Benjamin, corporal
 Hogg, James, private
 Hoke, John, private
 Hollinger, Alexander, ensign
 Holloway, Allen, corporal
 Holmes, Drury, private
 Holmes, James, private
 Holmes, Liberty, private
 Holston, King, private
 Holt, Isaac, corporal
 Honey, Thomas, private
 Hood, John, corporal
 Hooter, Jacob, private
 Hopper, John, private
 Houston, John, private
 Howell, Joseph, private
 Hubbard, James, corporal
 Hubert, David, sergeant
 Hudnell, Isaiah, private
 Huff, Daniel, private
 Hull, Miles, private
 Humble, John, private
 Humphreys, Jonathan, private
 Huntsman, John, private
 Huston, John, private
 Hutchins, Anthony, private
 Hutchins, John, musician
 Hutchinson, John, private
 Isaacs, Samuel, private
 Iles, William, sergeant
 Isham, — — —, servant
 Jackeway, John, private
 Jackson, Andrew, private
 Jackson, Davis, private
 Jackson, Henry, private
 Jacobs, Silas, private

Jenkins, John, private	Laughorn, William, private
Jenkins, Nathan, private	Lazarus, Nicholas, private
Jenkins, William, private	Leake, Walter, private
John, — — —, servant	Leathlighter, Peter, private
Johns, John, private	Legrand, Malachi, private
Johnson, Absalom, private	Lewis, David, private
Johnson, James, private	Lewis, John S., captain
Johnson, Jesse, corporal	Lewis, William, private
Johnson, John, private	Liming, Joel, private
Johnson, Nathaniel, private	Linder, Daniel, private
Johnson, Simon, sergeant major	Linsey, Isaac, private
Johnson, William, corporal	Lisenby, David, private
Johnston, James, private	Lofin, James, private
Johnston, Jesse, private	Lofin, William, private
Johnston, William A., private	Lofton, Ezekiel, private
Jones, Abraham B., private	Lofton, Thomas, private
Jones, Henry, private	Longmire, Robert, sergeant
Jones, Matthew, corporal	Lott, Amos, ensign
Jones, Micajah, private	Lott, Arther, Jr., private
Jones, Samuel W., private	Lott, Arther, Sr., private
Jones, Sterling, sergeant	Lott, Solomon, private
Jones, Thomas, private	Lowry, John, captain
Jordan, John, corporal	Lum, Erastus, private
Keen, John, private	Mackey, Alexander C., quartermaster service
Keen, Joseph, private	Magruder, John, sergeant
Keen, Josiah, corporal	Manning, James, private
Keethly, John, private	Marshall, Christopher, corporal
Kelly, Thomas, private	Marten, Phillip, private
Kennedy, Cade L., private	Martin, Albert, private
Kennedy, David, private	Martin, Charles, corporal
Kenton, William, corporal	Martin, Henry, private
Kimbrall, William, private	Martin, Richard, private
King, Thomas, private	Martin, Samuel, corporal
King, William, private	Martin, William, private
Kinnison, Nathaniel, private	Mason, Jacob, private
Kirkland, Obed, private	Massey, Drury, private
Knight, James, private	Maten, Aron, private
Knox, Andrew, corporal	Mathis, John, private
Land, Benjamin, private	Matthews, Lyman, sergeant
Landham, Elias, private	May, Ethelridge, private
Landingham, Malachi, private	May, Joseph, private
Landram, Meredith, private	May, Phillip, private
Landrum, Peter, private	Mays, John, corporal
Lane, John T., private	McAlister, Archibald, private
Langly, John H., ensign	McAllister, Benjamin, private
Larry, Daniel, private	

McAnulty, Robert, private	Mercer, Eli, fifer
McAnulty, William, private	Mercer, Simeon, private
McCaleb, Daniel, private	Meriwether, John M., private
McCarty, Jacob, sergeant	Merkinson, John, private
McCombs, William M., private	Merrell, Elijah, private
McCook, John, sergeant	Middlemist, John, private
McCormack, Samuel, corporal	Middleton, Henry, lieutenant
McCoy, Daniel, corporal	Middleton, Joseph, private
McCoy, Jesse, private	Miller, Andrew, sergeant
McCrary, John, sergeant	Miller, Cader, private
McDaniel, Alexander, private	Miller, George, private
McDaniel, Benjamin G., private	Miller, James, private
McDonald, Elam H., private	Miller, John, private
McDonald, John, private	Milton, Michael, private
McDowell, William, private	Minor, Marshall, private
McDowell, William, private	Mitchel, William, corporal
McDugald, Daniel, private	Mixon, Abed, sergeant
McGahey, Daniel, captain	Moke, Andrew, private
McGehee, William, Lieutenant	Monger, William, private
McGinty, Reuben, private	Montgomery, Alexander, sergeant
McGowen, James, Lieutenant	Montgomery, Hugh, private
McGowen, Russell, private	Montgomery, James, private
McGowen, William, private	Montgomery, James S., ensign
McGraw, David, private	Moore, James J., private
McGraw, James, private	Moore, James, 1st, private
McGrew, Robert, private	Moore, Jeffers H., ensign
McGuffee, Alfred, sergeant	Moore, Joseph, corporal
McIntire, Dougald, private	Moore, Samuel, private
McIntire, Hugh, private	Morgan, Elijah, private
McIntosh, John, private	Morgan, Thomas, sergeant
McIntire, Daniel, private	Morris, James, private
McKahan, John, private	Morris, John, private
McKenzie, John, private	Morris, William, private
McKinsey, Alexander, private	Morton, Hughes, private
McLaughlin, John, private	Murphy, Jonas, private
McLaughlin, Patrick, corporal	Murphy, Morris, sergeant
McLaughlin, William, private	Murphy, Vincent, private
McLaughlin, William, private	Murray, John, private
McMellon, Daniel, private	Murray, Joshua, private
McMillan, Dugald, corporal	Nealy, Parris, sergeant
McMillan, James, private	Ned, — — —, servant
McMullin, John, private	Need, David, private
McMullin, Robert, corporal	Neely, David, second lieutenant-
McNamee, John R., sergeant	lieutenant
McNeir, John, private	Nelson, James, sergeant
Melvin, Daniel W., private	Nelson, Peter, private

Nelson, Thomas, private	Pollard, John, first corporal
Nevills, William, private	Polatty, Francis, private
Newman, Reuben, private	Porter, Henry, private
Nicholls, Joseph, first lieutenant and adjutant	Powell, Ira, private
Nickols, David, fifer	Powell, William, private
Nixon, George H., lieutenant-colonel	Prescoat, Solomon, private
Noble, Isaac, private	Prestridge, Robert, private
Noble, Levi, private	Price, Ralph, private
Nobles, John, private	Prichard, William, lieutenant
Nobles, Marke, private	Pritchard, William, private
Norman, Presley, private	Ragsdal, Elijah, private
O'Bannon, Darson, private	Ragsdale, Edward, private
Ogden, Elijah, private	Ragsdale, William, sergeant
Oliphant, James, private	Raines, Stephen, private
Oliver, Andrew, private	Rankins, Frederick, corporal
O'Neal, Peter, private	Rapalje, Isaac, captain
Orr, John, private	Rattleff, Benjamin, private
Ott, William, private	Ratliff, James, private
Owens, Walter, private	Rayburn, David, private
Pace, John, private	Rea, Joseph, private
Page, Jesse, private	Reagan, John, private
Page, John W., ensign	Reaves, Eli, private
Page, Robert, private	Reaves, John, private
Palmer, Reuben, private	Reaves, Thomas, private
Parish, Hezakah, sergeant	Reburn, David, private
Parker, Aaron, private	Reburn, Mark, corporal
Parker, William, private	Redman, Jesse, private
Parks, Silas, fife major	Redman, Wilson, private
Parr, Henry, private	Reed, James, private
Patton, John, private	Reeves, William, private
Payne, Edward, drum major	Reynolds, Edward G., surgeon
Peak, Benjamin, sergeant	Rice, Ezekiah, private
Perry, Daniel, private	Rice, George, private
Perry, James, ensign	Richards, Samuel B., lieutenant
Petty, Presley, sergeant	Richardson, William, private
Phillips, Isaac, private	Richey, Theodore I. H., sergeant
Phillips, Lee Marcus, private	Richmond, Thomas W., private
Phinney, John, private	Riley, Stephen, private
Phipps, William, private	Ring, Mark, private
Pitchford, Augustin, sergeant	Rippy, Jesse, private
Pitman, Archibald, private	Roach, Aaron, private
Plaster, Thomas R., private	Roach, Richard, surgeon
Platner, Enoch, private	Roark, John, private
Platner, William D., private	Robbins, Horace, private
Plays, Robert W., private	Roberts, George, private
	Roberts, Henry, private

- Roberts, James, private
 Roberts, James P., private
 Roberts, John, corporal
 Roberts, John, private
 Roberts, Phillip, private
 Roberts, Raymon, private
 Robertson, George, ensign
 Robertson, John I., private
 Robertson, Thomas, private
 Robertson, William, private
 Robertson, William H., sergeant
 Robins, Horace W., private
 Roddy, Peter, private
 Rodgers, Evin R., private
 Rogers, John, private
 Rogers, William, corporal
 Rolls, Jabus, ensign
 Ross, Samuel, private
 Ross, William, private
 Rounsoval, William, private
 Rowell, Lewis, private
 Roycraft, Francis, private
 Rude, Abner, private
 Rule, William, private
 Russell, Alexander, private
 Russell, Jacob, private
 Rutledge, Dudley, private
 Rutledge, Joseph, private
 Sandab, Daniel, private
 Saucer, Samuel, private
 Saucer, William, private
 Saunders, Traverse, private
 Saval, John, private
 Saxton, John, private
 Scott, John, private
 Scott, Thomas, private
 Scott, William, private
 Scrivener, Jesse, private
 Seals, Eli, private
 Seals, Littleton, private
 Searcy, Ransome, private
 Sedgewick, John, private
 Selser, George, private
 Selser, Josiah, private
 Sermons, Edmond, private
 Sermons, Jonathan, private
 Sermons, Thomas, private
 Sexton, Daniel, private
 Shaddock, Isaac, private
 Shave, John, private
 Shaw, Thompson, private
 Shelby, Marquest, sergeant
 Sherill, William, private
 Shober, William, sergeant
 Shuffield, Ishum, private
 Sibley, Benjamin, private
 Simmons, John, private
 Simmons, Richard, private
 Simmons, Vincent, private
 Simmons, Willis, private
 Simolet, Michael, private
 Simpson, David B., private
 Sims, William G., sergeant
 Singleton, Richard, private
 Singleton, Washington, private
 Six, David, private
 Slaughter, David, private
 Slaughter, John, private
 Slaughter, William, corporal
 Slay, Nathan, private
 Sluder, Henry, private
 Smith, Alexander, private
 Smith, Archibald, private
 Smith, Carter, private
 Smith, Ezechieal, private
 Smith, Henry C., private
 Smith, James, private
 Smith, Jeremiah, sergeant
 Smith, Jesse, private
 Smith, John, private
 Smith, Joseph, private
 Smith, Levy, private
 Smith, Thomas, private
 Smith, William, private
 Smoot, Benjamin S., major
 Sojourner, Jacob, sergeant
 Sojourner, John, lieutenant
 Sojourner, William, private
 Solomon, — — —, private servant
 Sones, Henry, private
 Sorrells, Jesse, private
 Spencer, William, captain

Spradley, William, sergeant
 Springer, Solomon, corporal
 Sprinkle, John, private
 Spurlock, David, private
 Stallion, John, private
 Stampley, William, private
 Stanley, Shadrach, private
 Stedham, Jesse, private
 Stephenson, Jonathan, private
 Stephenson, William, private
 Sterns, Peter, private
 Stewart, James, sergeant
 Stewart, Robert, private
 Stiglar, Benjamin, private
 Stiglar, George, private
 Stoker, Henry, private
 Stone, John C., private
 Strickland, Simon, private
 Stricklin, Henry, private
 Stringfellow, James, private
 Stroud, Frederick, private
 Stroud, Samuel, private
 Strouse, Christopher, private
 Summerlin, Giles, private
 Swan, Thomas T., sergeant
 Swearingen, Henry, private
 Sweeney, John, private
 Syx, Benjamin, private
 Talbert, Abner, private
 Tanner, John, private
 Tanner, William, private
 Tarver, John, private
 Taylor, Brice, corporal
 Taylor, James, private
 Taylor, Thomas, private
 Teek, John, private
 Terry, Jeremiah, private
 Tervin, Richard, private
 Testone, Frederick, private
 Thomas, Charles, private
 Thomas, Daniel, sergeant
 Thomas, David, lieutenant
 Thomas, Joseph, Lieutenant
 Thomas, Martin, private
 Thompson, Archibald, private
 Thompson, David, private

Thompson, Felix, private
 Thompson, James, captain
 Thompson, James, private
 Thompson, William, private
 Tibbs, William, private
 Tidder, Isaac, private
 Tidder, Thomas, private
 Toler, Elijah, private
 Toumbs, William, corporal
 Travers, Benjamin, private
 Travers, Thomas, private
 Travers, William, private
 Travis, Prier S., corporal
 Trefoe, Michael, private
 Troty, Joseph, private
 Tucker, John, private
 Tucker, William, private
 Turvin, Richard, private
 Twilley, Robert, captain
 Urick, John, private
 Usher, William, private
 Vancampin, William, private
 Vannoy, John, private
 Verdiman, Jeremiah, private
 Vickory, Charles, private
 Vickory, Nathaniel, private
 Vincent, Berry, private
 Vining, John, private
 Wactor, John, sergeant
 Wafers, Joel, private
 Walker, Felix, private
 Wallis, Nazareth, private
 Wallis, Oliver, private
 Walton, Timothy, private
 Ware, Lard, lieutenant
 Ware, Nicholas M., private
 Ware, William, private
 Warner, James, private
 Warnuck, Joseph, private
 Warren, John, private
 Warren, Joseph, private
 Warren, Solomon, private
 Way, John, sergeant
 Way, John, corporal
 Wax, John, corporal
 Webb, Jesse, private

Weigart, David, corporal	Wilds, Joseph, private
Welch, James, lieutenant	Wilkinson, Angus, sergeant
Welch, Nathan, private	Wilkinson, Joseph, private
Welch, Robert, private	Wilkinson, William, sergeant
Welch, Young, private	Williams, Benjamin, private
Wells, Edmund, private	Williams, David, private
Westfall, Samuel, private	Williams, Francis, private
Westner, George, private	Williams, James, private
Westner, Samuel, private	Williams, Rafe, private
Wetherill, Theophilus, private	Williamson, Edward, private
Wheat, Joseph, private	Willis, David, sergeant
White, Isaiah, private	Willis, George, private
White, James, private	Wilson, Daniel, private
White, Joel, sergeant	Wilson, Samuel, private
White, Joseph, corporal	Wilson, William, sergeant
White, Joseph, private	Windham, Stephen, corporal
White, Richard, corporal	Windham, William, private
White, Thompson, private	Winn, John, private
White, William, private	Wise, James B., private
Whittington, Elam, private	Withers, Silas, private
Whittington, Evan, private	Wood, Dennis, private
Whittington, Moses, ensign	Wood, Ethan A., captain
Wigley, Joab, private	Yewell, Joel, quartermaster sergeant
Wigley, Joseph, private	Young, Jesse, private
Wilburn, James, private	

1ST REGIMENT OF MISSISSIPPI VOLUNTEERS

Captain Gerard C. Brandon's Company
 Captain Samuel Dale's Company
 Captain Benjamin Dent's Company
 Captain Philip A. Engel's Company
 Captain L. V. Foelckel's Company
 Captain William Henry's Company
 Captain William Jack's Company
 Captain Chas. G. Johnson's Company
 Captain Randal Jones' Company
 Captain Jos. P. Kennedy's Company
 Captain William C. Mead's Company
 Captain Hatton Middleton's Company
 Captain Hans Morrison's Company
 Captain Lewis Paimboiuf's Company
 Captain Thos. Posey's Company
 Captain John Neilson's Company
 Captain James Foster's Company
 Captain Abraham M. Scott's Company
 Captain Benj. S. Smoot's Company
 Captain Archelaus Wells' Company

Abernathie, John, private	Baird, William, private
Adams, Richard, private	Baird, William, Jr., private
Adams, Thomas, private	Baird, William, Sr., private
Agens, John, private	Baird, William L., private
Agens, William, private	Baker, Lewis, private
Agiliras, Francisco, private	Baldwin, William, private
Aikins, Samuel, private	Baley, Richard, private
Akors, Benjamin, private	Banks, Peregrin, private
Alexander, Michael G., private	Barns, Mark, private
Alexander, William, private	Barra, Francis, private
Alford, Joseph, private	Barron, John, second lieutenant
Alford, Robert, sergeant	Bartlett, Nathaniel, private
Allen, David, private	Bartley, John, private
Allen, Drury, private	Bashford, Robert, sergeant
Allen, John, first lieutenant	Battest, John, drummer
Allen, John, private	Bazer, Edward, private
Allen, John, private	Beall, Wilkinson, private
Allen, Josiah, private	Beard, Henry, sergeant
Anderson, Allen, sergeant	Beasley, Daniel, major
Anderson, James, private	Beason, William, private
Anderson, James, private	Beaty, James C., private
Anderson, John, private	Beauchamp, Baptist, private
Anderson, Robert C., second lieutenant	Belcher, Branch, private
Andrews, Green, private	Bell, Joseph, sergeant
Andrews, William, private	Bell, Ralph, private
Anthony, Abraham L., private	Bell, William W., sergeant
Anthony, Joseph, private	Bender, Lott, private
Armstrong, Thomas, private	Benge, Harris, private
Arnold, Benjamin, Jr., private	Bennett, Micajah, private
Arnold, Benjamin, Sr., private	Bennett, William, private
Arnold, Bridges, private	Bernard, John G., private
Ashley, James, private	Berry, Joseph, corporal
Atchison, Henry, sergeant	Berryhill, Alexander, private
Atkins, Charles, private	Biddle, Benjamin, private
Attoy, Dennis, private	Biddlescomb, Jeremiah, private
Atwater, Asaph, sergeant	Bieulet, Joseph, private
Atwood, Thomas, private	Bilbo, James, private
Austill, Evan, first lieutenant	Bishop, Stephen, private
Austill, Jeremiah, private	Black, Daniel, corporal
Bagacox, Victor, private	Black, John, private
Baggs, Robert, corporal	Black, John S., corporal
Bailey, George, private	Blackwell, James, private
Bailey, James, first lieutenant	Blair, Thomas, private
Bainbridge, Thomas, private	Blanton, Benjamin, ensign
Baird, James, private	Blue, Angus, corporal
Baird, John, private	Bobbs, Jacob, private
Baird, Samuel, private	Bonner, James, private

- Booth, John, sergeant major
 Boozman, Howell, private
 Boswell, John, corporal
 Bosworth, Richard, sergeant
 Bowland, John, private
 Bowman, Richardson, first lieutenant
 Boyce, William, sergeant
 Braden, James, private
 Bradford, Leonard, private
 Bradley, Bradford, private
 Bradley, Luther, private
 Brady, Samuel, private
 Bragg, John, private
 Brandon, Gerard C., captain
 Brannan, Thomas, private
 Brannon, John P., sergeant
 Brant, Lewis W., sergeant
 Breard, John, private
 Brent, John, sergeant
 Brenton, Joseph, private
 Brewer, William, private
 Bridgement, Thomas, private
 Bridges, Benjamin, second lieutenant
 Briggs, Johnston, sergeant
 Brinkman, George, private
 Britt, William S., ensign
 Brittle, Thomas M., private
 Britton, James, private
 Brooks, David, private
 Brooks, John, private
 Brothers, Lewis, private
 Brown, Bartlett, private
 Brown, Henry, musician
 Brown, John, private
 Brown, John, private
 Brown, John W., private
 Brown, Liberty, private
 Brown, Rowling, private
 Bruley, Jacob, private
 Bruster, James, private
 Bruster, Washington, corporal
 Bryan, William, private
 Bryant, Robert, private
 Bullman, John, private
 Buntin, Timothy, private
 Dullock, James, private
 Burgess, Francis, private
 Burgess, William B., private
 Burk, Martin, private
 Burke, James, private
 Burnett, Thomas, private
 Burns, William, sergeant
 Burton, Charles A., private
 Burton, Elbert, ensign
 Burton, Robert, corporal
 Bush, Levi, private
 Bush, William, private
 Byarse, Henry, private
 Byers, James, private
 Bynum, Turner, private
 Cable, Christopher, private
 Cadwell, Aaron, private
 Cadwell, William, private
 Cain, James B., sergeant
 Caldwell, Kean, second lieutenant and
 adjutant
 Caldwell, Thomas, private
 Callahan, David, ensign
 Caller, Robert, private
 Calvet, Alexander, first lieutenant and
 aide-de-camp
 Cameron, Barnabas, private
 Camp, John, first lieutenant
 Camp, John, private
 Campbell, Archibald, private
 Campbell, Donald, private
 Campbell, James, private
 Campbell, John D., private
 Cammack, David, private
 Cammell, Duncan, private
 Canty, William S., sergeant
 Carl, James, private
 Carlin, James, private
 Carmichael, William, private
 Carnes, Johnson, private
 Carnes, Wells, private
 Carrigan, Edward, private
 Carson, Joseph, colonel
 Carson, Joseph, private
 Carter, John, private
 Carter, John, private
 Carty, Collin, private
 Caswell, William, private
 Cathel, Joshua, private

- Cathel, Levin, sergeant
 Caughman, David, private
 Caulfield, Francis, private
 Chadock, Isaac, private
 Chadwick, Isaac, private
 Chambers, Michael, corporal
 Chambliss, William B., ensign
 Chaney, James, private
 Chapman, George, private
 Charrington, John, private
 Cheauveaus, James, second lieutenant
 Childers, Ware, private
 Chisholm, Cockburn, private
 Chislom, Andrew C., first sergeant
 Claiborne, Ferdinand L., brigadier
 general
 Clark, Archibald, private
 Clark, Henry, private
 Clark, James, private
 Clark, Samuel, private
 Clark, William G., private
 Clark, William H., private
 Clayton, John Y., private
 Clayton, Samuel, private
 Cleaveland, Edward, private
 Cleaveland, Josiah M., sergeant
 Clinton, John, private
 Clupper, Phillip, private
 Cobb, Frederick, private
 Cochran, Cheedle, private
 Cockram, William, private
 Cogan, William, private
 Colbert, Simon, private
 Cole, Stewart, first sergeant
 Coleman, Daniel, private
 Coleman, Levi, private
 Collum, David, private
 Colson, Samuel, private
 Colston, Thomas, private
 Colton, Elam, private
 Colvin, Talton, private
 Colvin, William, private
 Conner, George, private
 Conner, James, corporal
 Conner, John, sergeant
 Converse, Wright, sergeant
 Cook, Joseph, private
 Coolman, George, private
 Cooper, George, private
 Cooper, John, private
 Cooper, Joseph, private
 Cooper, Simeon, private
 Cooper, William, corporal
 Copeland, James, private
 Corey, Samuel F., sergeant
 Corhel, Nicholas, private
 Corkins, David, private
 Coulson, Samuel, private
 Cousins, Matthew, private
 Cox, Thomas, private
 Cox, William R., surgeon mate
 Crane, Stephen, private
 Crane, William, corporal
 Crane, William, private
 Crawford, Alexander, corporal
 Crawford, Hugh, private
 Creagh, Gerrard, private
 Criswell, Andrew, private
 Criswell, Robert, private
 Curtis, William, private
 Dacosta, Nicholas, corporal
 Dale, James, private
 Dale, Samuel, captain
 Daniel, Nathaniel, sergeant
 Daniels, Abner, corporal
 Davis, Baxter, sergeant
 Davis, Benjamin, private
 Davis, Daniel, private
 Davis, George, private
 Davis, Isaac W., ensign
 Davis, Simon, private
 Deal, Elias, private
 Dean, Daniel, private
 Dean, John, Jr., private
 Dean, John, Sr., private
 Dearman, William, private
 Delevan, Cornelius, private
 Deloach, William R., first lieutenant and
 adjutant
 Denhart, Augustus, private
 Deniston, Andrew, private
 Dennis, Asa W., sergeant
 Dennis, George P., private
 Dennis, Thomas, private

Denson, Isaac, private
Dent, Benjamin, captain
Desha, Benjamin, private
DeVall, John, private
Devanport, John, private
Devin, James, private
Dewell, Lewis, sergeant
Dewitt, James, corporal
Ditzler, Peter, private
Divin, John S., private
Dixon, Hugh, private
Dixon, Thomas, private
Dobbins, Alfred M., private
Dobbs, Jacob, private
Donnelly, James, private
Dorsey, James, private
Dougherty, George, ensign
Doughty, Kitrell, private
Douglass, Jephtha, private
Douthard, John, private
Dowling, Charles, private
Downing, Edward, private
Downing, Nicholas, private
Dozier, Thomas, sergeant
Drake, Edmund, sergeant
Duchur, Victor, private
Dudley, Daniel, private
Dugless, John, private
Duke, Thomas, private
Duncan, Benjamin, private
Duncan, David, private
Duncan, William, private
Dunham, Warren, private
Dunking, Thomas, private
Dunn, John, private
Dunn, Lewis P., corporal
Dunson, William, private
Dupie, Thomas, private
Easley, Edward, private
Easley, John, private
Eaton, Samuel, private
Eavins, Gaddi, private
Eavins, Samuel, private
Ebey, William, drummer
Edgerly, Elijah, private
Edwards, Dabney, private

Edwards, Thomas, private
Egan, William, private
Elder, James, private
Elliott, John, corporal
Elliott, Robert L., corporal
Ellison, Samuel, private
Ellison, Thomas, private
Ellison, William, private
Embree, Jesse, private
Embree, Jonathan, sergeant
Emery, William, private
Emmons, John, ensign
Engel, Philip A., captain
Enos, Eli, private
Ervin, Samuel, private
Espey, Wiley, private
Espinosa, Joseph, private
Espy, Lemuel, private
Ethridge, John, musician
Evans, Elijah, private
Evans, John, private
Evans, Thomas, private
Evans, William, private
Evans, Zachariah, private
Eveleigh, William, private
Everard, Charles, private
Everitt, John, private
Ewalt, William, private
Ewing, Robert B., private
Faite, Peter, private
Faith, Alexander, musician
Farley, Elihu, private
Farris, Samuel S., sergeant
Fell, George, sergeant
Fenton, John, sergeant
Ferguson, Richard, private
Fields, Elijah, corporal
Files, John, ensign
Finch, Christopher, private
Finch, John, private
Finehorn, John, private
Finley, Charles, private
Finley, Norris, private
Finley, Zachariah, private
Fisher, Charles, private
Fisher, Samuel, private

Flanigan, John, private	Glass, David, private
Fleming, John P., private	Glass, Williamson, private
Flemming, Joseph, private	Glass, Zachariah, private
Fletcher, Jeremiah, private	Godfrey, William, private
Flinn, William, private	Gonsales, John, private
Flores, Joseph, private	Good, Delanson, private
Floyd, John B., sergeant	Goodwin, Robert, private
Foeckel, L. V., captain	Gordon, Robert, private
Ford, James, sergeant	Goss, Henry O. F., private
Ford, William, private	Gowen, James H., sergeant
Forget, William, private	Gray, Philip A., corporal
Fort, Adison, private	Grayham, James, private
Fortenberry, William, private	Grayson, Peter, private
Foster, Francis, private	Green, Allen, sergeant
Foster, George, private	Green, Robert, corporal
Foster, James, captain	Green, William, private
Foster, William, private	Grey, Joseph, private
Fountain, Henry, private	Grey, Thomas F., private
Fox, Washington, corporal	Griffin, George W., private
Francis, James, private	Griffin, Isaac W., private
Frederick, John, private	Griffin, James M., private
French, John, private	Griffin, Mitchell, private
Friley, Frederick, private	Griffin, Patrick, sergeant
Fry, Thomas, private	Griffin, William, sergeant
Futch, Onisimus, private	Griffis, Thomas, private
Gallon, Canton, private	Grizzle, Willis, private
Gamble, Robert, private	Groff, Frederick, private
Gano, Stephen, private	Groff, Henry C., private
Gardner, Jeremiah, private	Guest, Samuel, sergeant major
Garlington, Edwin, sergeant	Guest, Westly, private
Garmany, Washington, sergeant	Gurley, Robert, private
Garrard, James, private	Haggarty, Henry, private
Garrard, William, private	Haggarty, John, private
Garrino, John P., private	Haggerty, John, private
Gash, William, private	Hale, Joel W., corporal
Gates, Jasper, private	Haley, John, private
Gatlin, John, private	Haley, Richard, private
Gatton, Ignatius, private	Hall, James, private
Gentry, Elijah, private	Hall, John, private
Gentry, Elijah, Sr., private	Hall, John, private
Gentry, James, private	Hall, Matthew, sergeant
Gibbs, George H., ensign	Hall, Samuel, private
Gibson, Richard, private	Hamby, Samuel M., private
Gillaspie, David, corporal	Hamilton, Andrew, private
Gillick, John, private	Hamilton, Thomas, private
Gilman, Benare, private	Hamilton, William, private

Hammon, Thomas, private
Hammond, William, private
Hamrick, Burwell, private
Hand, John B., private
Hardy, Isaiah, private
Harford, Samuel, fife major
Harney, Benjamin F., surgeon mate
Harrington, Joseph, private
Harrington, Hardy, private
Harrington, Hudson, private
Harris, Joseph A., private
Hart, Philip, private
Hawkins, Gilbert D., private
Hays, Mark, private
Hazle, Daniel, corporal
Hazle, Samuel, private
Hazlett, Jacob, private
Head, Benjamin, private
Healy, Daniel, sergeant
Heard, Bailey, first lieutenant
Heard, Joel, private
Hearn, George, private
Hearn, William, private
Heath, Thomas, musician
Heaton, Isaac, private
Hellum, Enos, private
Helms, Henry, private
Henderson, Duncan, private
Henry, John N., private
Henry, Lemuel C. G., private
Henry, William, captain
Henson, James, private
Hide, Harris, corporal
Higgins, John, private
Higgins, Peter, private
High, Martin, private
Hill, James, private
Hill, William, private
Hillebrand, Paul, private
Hillis, John, private
Hinton, William, private
Hixon, Daniel, corporal
Hogg, John, private
Hoggett, Joel, private
Hogue, William, private
Holcomb, Gardner, private

Holcomb, Philip P., private
Holcroft, John, private
Holder, John, private
Holliday, Levi, corporal
Holliday, Richard J., sergeant
Holliday, Simeon, private
Hollister, Francis A., private
Holloway, George, private
Holmes, Thomas, private
Hopkins, Hardy, private
Hopkins, Joseph R., private
Hopkins, Richard, private
Horton, John, private
House, John, private
Howard, Jonathan, private
Howe, Jacob, private
Howell, Archibald, private
Hudson, John, private
Hudson, Westley, private
Huff, William H., private
Hunt, William, private
Hurlock, James, private
Hurry, Richard, private
Hustler, Samuel, drum major
Hutchins, Thomas, private
Hutchinson, John, private
Inman, Richard, private
Irby, Henry, private
Irby, James, private
Ireson, James H., sergeant
Ivey, William, private
Jack, William, captain
Jackson, George, private
Jackson, Henry, private
Jacobs, Richard, private
James, Abner, private
James, Almon, private
James, Joseph, corporal
Jetton, Benedict, private
Johnson, Abraham, private
Johnson, Charles G., captain
Johnson, Hugh B., private
Johnson, John, private
Johnson, Peter, private
Johnston, William, private
Joiner, William, private

- Jones, Elbert, private
 Jones, Hardin, private
 Jones, John H., private
 Jones, Josiah, private
 Jones, Randal, captain
 Jones, Russel, private
 Jones, Stephen, private
 Jones, Thomas, private
 Jones, Wiley, private
 Jones, William, private
 Jones, William, private
 Jones, William, private
 Jones, William P., private
 Jordan, Zachariah, private
 Judkins, John, private
 Juvenot, Joseph, private
 Kaufman, George, private
 Keas, William, private
 Keel, William, private
 Keen, John, sergeant
 Kellogg, Theron, first lieutenant
 Kelly, Abraham, private
 Kelly, Benjamin C., sergeant
 Kelly, Jesse, private
 Kennedy, Joseph P., captain and brigade major
 Kennedy, William, private
 Kennedy, William, private
 Kerr, John, surgeon
 Kief, Thomas, private
 Killen, Henry, private
 Kimble, Isom, private
 Kimble, Ransom, private
 King, David, musician
 King, John, private
 Kingsbury, Daniel, sergeant
 Kline, Balthazer, private
 Knight, Andrew W. L., private
 Knight, Thomas, private
 Koen, John, cornet
 Koen, Jonathan H., private
 Koff, Peter, private
 Kregger, John M., private
 LaChapelle, Dominic, private
 Lambert, Ashley, private
 Lambert, Edward
 Lang, James, private
 Lang, William, private
 Langford, David, private
 Langford, John, private
 Langham, James, private
 Laucks, Michael, private
 Laughlin, James, private
 Lauson, William, corporal
 Law, David, private
 Law, James, private
 Layson, Robert R., first lieutenant-first quartermaster
 Lazarus, Nicholas, private
 Lazarus, Thomas, sergeant
 Leavell, Joseph, private
 Leblane, Victor, private
 Lee, Charles, sergeant
 Lee, James Bud, private
 Lee Joseph, private
 Lee, Robert, private
 Lefoy, Mathew, private
 Lemon, William, private
 Lenoir, Robert, private
 Leverton, Jacob, private
 Lewis, David, private
 Lewis, Henry W., musician
 Lewis, Jacob, musician
 Lewis, John, private
 Lewis, William, first lieutenant
 Lewis, William, private
 Lick, William, private
 Lilley, George, first lieutenant
 Linder, Daniel, private
 Linder, Lewis, corporal
 Linsey, John, private
 Linsey, Robert, corporal
 Linton, William, private
 Little, Henry, sergeant
 Littleton, William B., private
 Lloyd, Henry, private
 Lloyd, Samuel, private
 Lochridge, Nicholas, second lieutenant
 Long, Jeremiah, private
 Long, William, private
 Lora, Felix, private
 Lorimer, Charles V., sergeant

Louck, Andrew, private
Love, James, private
Love, Joseph, private
Love, Robert E., sergeant
Love, William D., private
Low, John, sergeant
Lowman, Cornelius, private
Lowrey, John, fifer
Lowry, James, private
Lowry, James, private
Lucier, Anthony, private
Lockett, James, ensign
Luker, Isaac, private
Luker, Jesse, private
Liker, Joshua, sergeant
Luker, William, private
Lumpkin, Hendrick, private
Lunsford, Solomon, private
Lyles, Richmond, private
Lynch, Matthew, sergeant
Lynch, Stephen, private
Madden, James, private
Malone, Joseph, private
Malone, Michael, private
Maner, Elisha, private
Manichy, James, private
Mannen, Willay, private
Manville, Philip, corporal
Marian, Joseph, private
Marquart, George, private
Marrs, Thomas, private
Marshall, Solomon, private
Martin, Aaron, private
Martin, Alexander, private
Martin, Austin, private
Mason, Abraham D., private
Mason, Charles, corporal
Massey, Drewry, private
Masters, Baptist, private
Masters, John, private
Matheney, John D., private
Mathews, Samuel, private
Mathureb, Loran, private
Matson, Thomas, private
Matthews, Hezekiah, private
Matthews, Lyman, private

May, George, private
May, Patrick, second lieutenant
Mayers, David, private
Mays, Stephen, ensign
Mays, William, musician
McAlpin, James, private
McAlpine, William, corporal
McArthur, James, ensign
McCabe, James, private
McCaleb, Alexander, private
McChesney, David, private
McClam, Solomon, corporal
McClure, John, corporal
McCoy, William, private
McCullough, David, private
McDaniel, John, private
McDonald, Hugh, private
McDonald, Robert, private
McDonald, William, corporal
McDonald, Young R., ensign
McGee, Joseph, private
McGee, Thomas, private
McGinley, Barney, private
McGinley, John, private
McGohan, Peter, private
McGrew, William, second sergeant
McGruder, Walter, private
McGuire, James, private
McKinsey, Levi, private
McLaughlin, Charles, private
McLendon, David, private
McLeod, James, private
McLouthlen, James, private
McManniman, Dennis, private
McMichael, William, private
McMillan, James, private
McNeal, Daniel, private
McNeil, Lochlen H., corporal
McPhail, Randol, private
McRay, Elijah, private
McShane, John, private
McWhinney, William, first corporal
McWilliam, John, private
Mead, Cowles colonel
Mead, William C., captain
Meaux, John T. T., corporal

Meeks, James, corporal	Morrison, Hugh, private
Melton, Andrew, private	Morrison, James, private
Melvin, Daniel W., private	Morrison, John, drum major
Mercer, Raney, private	Morton, Hugh, private
Merriman, William, private	Mosely, Thomas, private
Merritt, Morris, private	Mosely, Thomas B., private
Merson, Emanuel, private	Mosely, William, corporal
Michael, Francis, private	Mountjoy, John, sergeant
Micheaux, Daniel B., private	Mulkey, Ellis, private
Middleton, Hatton, captain	Mullin, Timothy, private
Miller, Jesse, private	Murphy, Benjamin, private
Miller, Joash, private	Murphy, John, private
Miller, John, private	Murphy, Willis, corporal
Miller, William, private	Murray, Samuel M., private
Milligan, James, private	Murrell, Charles W., private
Miner, Jacob, private	Mygott, Austin R., musician
Minton, Joshua, private	Myles, Isaac A., corporal
Mitchell, John, private	Myles, John E., private
Mitchell, Nathaniel, private	Myles, Joseph, private
Mitchum, George, private	Nabb, Charles B., private
Mitchum, Richard, private	Nance, David, private
Moncrief, Benjamin, private	Naters, James, private
Moncrief, Caleb, private	Neal, James, private
Monk, William, corporal	Neal, John D., private
Montgomery, Andrew, first lieutenant	Neilson, Jeremiah, private
Montgomery, Jacob, fifer	Neilson, John, captain
Montgomery, John, private	Nelson, Jesse, private
Mooney, Isaac, private	Nettles, John, private
Moore, Boyle, sergeant	Newman, Dixon, private
Moore, Charles, second lieutenant	Newman, Hezekiah, private
Moore, Edward, sergeant	Newman, Jonathan, private
Moore, John, sergeant	Nicholas, Daniel, private
Moore, Thomas, private	Nicholas, Thomas, private
Moran, John B., private	Nichols, Benjamin, private
Moran, William, corporal	Nicholson, Peter, private
Morgan, George, private	O'Donnald, James, private
Morgan, Isham, private	Ogden, Alexander, sergeant
Morgan, John, private	Oglethorpe, John N., private
Morgan, Joseph, private	O'Guin, John, private
Morgan, Thomas, private	O'Hara, Alexander, private
Morgan, William, first lieutenant	Oneal, Michael, private
Morris, John, private	Orear, Robert, private
Morris, John, private	Orouck, Timothy, private
Morris, John, private	Osborn, Spruce M., second lieutenant
Morris, Joseph, private	Osborne, Audley L., first lieutenant and adjutant
Morris, Leroy, private	Otis, James, musician
Morrison, Hans, captain	

- Otty, John, private
Owens, Alexander, private
Pace, Isham, private
Page, Lewis, private
Page, Nehemiah, private
Paimboeuf, Lewis, captain
Painter, Edward, private
Palmer, Aaron, private
Parish, Hezekiah, corporal
Parish, Joseph, private
Parker, John, private
Patton, James, corporal
Paxton, John R., private
Pearson, John, private
Pearson, Reuben, private
Peet, Curtis, private
Penticost, George W., private
Penton, William, corporal
Perkins, Ezekiel, private
Pernell, John M., corporal
Perrett, James, private
Perrett, John, private
Perrett, Robert, private
Perry, Francis, private
Perry, George, private
Perry, Peter, private
Peters, Thomas W., private
Peterson, David, private
Petty, William, private
Pevy, Nehemiah, fifer
Pharis, Samuel, private
Phillips, Robert, private
Phillip, Frederick, private
Phillips, Abraham H., private
Phillips, Daniel, sergeant
Phillips, George, private
Phillips, Iredell L., private
Phillips, Isham B., sergeant
Phillips, John, private
Phillips, Lewis, private
Phillips, William E., corporal
Phillis, Jacob, private
Pierce, Lewis, private
Pipkin, Moses, private
Pitchford, Augustin, sergeant
Pitner, John, private
Pittard, Abner, private
Pollard, Joseph, sergeant
Pollock, Charles, private
Porter, John C., private
Posey, Thomas, captain
Potter, John, corporal
Potts, Fleet, private
Poupnell, John Vincent, private
Powell, Archer, corporal
Powell, John, private
Powell, Lewis, private
Powell, William, private
Power, John, private
Powers, Josiah, private
Powers, Nathaniel, private
Prescott, Andrew, private
Presnall, Absolom, private
Presnell, Elijah, private
Price, Charles, private
Price, Edmund, private
Price, James, private
Price, James, private
Price, John, private
Price, Jonathan, private
Proctor, Aaron B., saddler
Pullum, Levy, private
Pyburn, Jacob, private
Rachford, John, sergeant
Rains, John, private
Ramoue, Michael, private
Randal, Thomas, corporal
Rankin, Thomas B., cornet
Rankins, Duncan, private
Ray, Henry, private
Ray, James P., private
Reams, Sterling, private
Reaves, William, private
Red, James E., private
Reed, William, private
Revere, Peter, private
Reviere, John, private
Reynolds, David, private
Reynolds, James, private
Reynolds, Reuben, fife major
Rhodes, Jacob, private
Rhodes, John, private

Richardson, Asa S., private	Sarber, Jacob, private
Richardson, Isaac, private	Sarter, George, private
Richardson, Philip, private	Savell, Moses, corporal
Rickards, Archibald, private	Saxon, Charles, private
Ripley, Samuel, corporal	Saxon, John, private
Riviere, Henry L., second lieutenant	Scanlon, Patrick, private
Roberts, John, private	Scealy, Gideon, corporal
Robertson, James, private	Schacht, John G., sergeant
Robertson, Joshua, private	Schecho, Alexander, musician
Robertson, Richard, private	Scolfield, Jesse, private
Robertson, Thomas, private	Scott, Abraham M., captain
Robinson, Aaron, private	Scott, James F., sergeant
Roddridge, Joseph M., private	Scott, Thomas, private
Rodgers, John, private	Scotthorn, Nathaniel, private
Rodgers, John D., first lieutenant	Scruggs, Edward H., corporal
Roe, Benjamin, private	Scruggs, Richard W., private
Roe, John, private	Sermans, Edward, private
Rogers, Hendirck, private	Shafer, John, private
Rogers, William, private	Shane, Offe, private
Rollins, John, private	Shane, Teddy, private
Roney, John, private	Shanover, John, private
Rosheur, David, drummer	Sharp, Samuel, private
Ross, George T., lieutenant-colonel	Shaw, James, private
Ross, Nimrod, private	Shaw, Zacharias, fifer
Ross, Walter R., quartermaster sergeant	Shepherd, David, musician
Row, James, private	Sheridan, Thomas, private
Rudder, David, private	Sheridan, William, private
Rule, William, private	Shilling, Abraham, private
Rushing, William, private	Shipton, Peter, private
Russ, Sylvester, private	Shopshire, William, private
Russell, Ervin, private	Short, Eli, private
Russell, John, private	Short, James, private
Russell, William, private	Short, John, corporal
Russom, Malchiah, private	Short, Michael, private
Russom, Wilson, private	Shuffield, Joshua, drummer
Ryals, Archibald, private	Shuffield, Stephen, private
Ryan, Edmond, private	Shuffield, William, sergeant
Ryan, Michael, private	Shull, John, private
Sage, Nathan, private	Shults, John, private
Sails, William, private	Sibert, John, corporal
Salters, Jacob, private	Silckox, John, private
Saltgiver, Andrew, private	Silva, Antonio, private
Salvage, Benjamin F., first lieutenant	Simmons, James, private
Sanders, William D., corporal	Simmons, Jonathan, private
Sands, John B., private	Simmons, Stephen, musician
Sansom, William, corporal	Simms, Peyton, private

Simpson, Charles, private
Simpson, John, corporal
Sims, Elias, private
Slater, William, private
Smiley, Archibald, private
Smith, George, drummer
Smith, John, private
Smith, John, private
Smith, Neal, private
Smith, Rees, corporal
Smith, Richard L., sergeant
Smith, Thomas, private
Smith, Whitmal, sergeant
Smith, William, private
Smith, William, Private
Smoot, Benjamin S., captain
Snead, William H., private
Snyder, John, private
Songquest, Jacob, private
Sorrels, Walter, private
Southard, Joseph, private
Spence, Richard, private
Spikes, Jonas, private
Stanley, Jordan, sergeant
Stark, Christopher, private
Stean, James, private
Stean, Newberry, private
Sted, Benjamin, private
Steele, Robert, sergeant
Steers, Edward, sergeant
Steers, James, private
Steers, William, corporal
Stephens, Hugh, private
Stephens, James, private
Stephens, John, private
Stephenson, Isaac, private
Stephenson, Jonathan, private
Stevens, William, private
Stewart, James, private
Stewart, Norman, private
Stewart, Robert, private
Stewart, Thomas, private
Sticker, John, private
Stinson, Burrell, private
Stocker, James S., Corporal
Stoker, William, private

Stowell, Abel, private
Stowell, Benjamin, ensign
Stricker, John, private
Stringer, William, private
Strong, Cyprian, sergeant
Strother, French H., corporal
Stroud, James, private
Sturney, Peter, private
Sullivan, Daniel, private
Sullivan, Daniel, private
Swan, Robert, ensign
Swatzfelter, Adam, private
Swetland, Daniel, private
Swigley, James, private
Talbert, Lewis, private
Tarver, Jonathan, private
Taylor, Benjamin, private
Taylor, Isom, private
Taylor, John F., sergeant
Taylor, John T., sergeant
Taylor, Joseph, private
Thomas, Henry, private
Thomas, Joseph, private
Thomas, William, private
Thompson, James, ensign
Thompson, James C., private
Thompson, John, private
Thompson, Thomas, private
Thornton, John, private
Thornton, Michael, private
Thornton, Mitchell, private
Thrasher, Samuel, private
Tilley, Josiah, private
Tinnin, Alexander, private
Tinnin, Asa, private
Tinnin, William, private
Tolbert, John, private
Tomlinson, Arthur, private
Trent, Henry, private
Trinary, John, private
Trowbridge, John, corporal
Tudeck, Joseph, private
Tuley, John, private
Turner, Joseph, private
Turner, Larkin, private
Turney, George, private

Turner, John, private	Wells, Archelaus, captain
Turney, Peter, private	Wells, Charles, corporal
Tysch, Jordan, corporal	Wells, Robert B., private
Upton, John, private	Wells, William B., private
Urich, John, private	Welsh, James, private
Ussery, Richard, private	Wentworth, Stephen, private
Vanesse, Jacob, private	West, Aquilla H., sergeant
Vantine, John C., private	Wheeler, Joseph, private
Varner, John, corporal	Whitaker, Abraham, private
Vasbinder, James, private	White, James, private
Vaughn, John, private	White, James M., private
Vaughn, Reuben, private	White, John, private
Vaughn, Thomas C., ensign	White, John, private
Verdon, Godfrey, private	White, William, private
Villiers, Gilbert, private	Whitemore, Nicholas, private
Vining, John, private	Whitmore, William, private
Vintner, John, private	Whitworth, Abraham, private
Vinzant, Berry, private	Wight, John M., sergeant
Voials, Benjamin, private	Wilcox, Benjamin, private
Wade, Henry, private	Wiley, Thomas, private
Wadsworth, Theodore, private	Wilkinson, John, sergeant
Waggoner, Joseph, corporal	Wilkinson, Thomas, private
Waid, John, private	Williams, Bird, private
Walker, Alexander, private	Williams, Isham, private
Walker, Andrew, private	Williams, Henry, private
Walker, John, private	Williams, Herron, private
Wallace, David, private	Williams, Jacob, sergeant
Wallace, James, private	Williams, John, corporal
Wallace, Oliver, private	Williams, John, private
Walters, John, private	Williams, John, private
Waltman, Valentine, private	Williams, John R., corporal
Ward, John C., private	Williams, Jonathan, private
Warner, John D., private	Williams, Stephen, private
Washam, Jeremiah, private	Williamson, James, drum major
Washburn, Henry, private	Willis, Reason, private
Watkins, David, sergeant	Wilson, Benjamin, private
Watson, John, private	Wilson, James, private
Weeks, William P., private	Wilson, Matthew, private
Weaver, Benjamin H., private	Wilson, Samuel, private
Weaver, Christopher, private	Wilson, William, sergeant
Webb, Thomas, private	Windham, Samuel, private
Weed, John, private	Wingate, Martin, private
Weekley, Beford, private	Witherington, Gabriel, private
Welch, George, private	Wood, John, private
Welch, John, sergeant	Woods, John, private
Welch, John V., private	Wooley, Stephen, private

Wooten, William, private
 Wooton, Daniel, private
 Wright, John, private
 Wright, William H., sergeant

Yancey, Thomas, corporal
 Yokum, Allen, private
 Young, George, private
 Young, Henry, private

6TH REGIMENT (1814-1815) OF MISSISSIPPI MILITIA

Anderson, Allen, private
 Bass, Alexander, private
 Beard, John, private
 Berry, Thomas, sergeant
 Bowling, John, private
 Boyakin, Kinchen, private
 Boyakin, William, private
 Brady, Samuel, private
 Brown, Ardin, private
 Brown, Edward, private
 Brown, James, private
 Bryant, Lewis, private
 Callahan, James, private
 Carr, Henry, private
 Childress, David, private
 Chronister, Matthias, private
 Cody, John, private
 Coker, Bryant, private
 Coleman, Philip, private
 Coulson, Samuel, private
 Cox, Collin, private
 Cox, George, private
 Cox, Thomas, private
 Crane, Mayfield, private
 Curry, John, private
 Dawkins, Silas, private
 Dew, Perry, private
 Farley, Elihu, private
 Fox, John, private
 Gaines, William, private
 Galbraith, Nevin, private
 Gandy, Edmund, private
 Gaston, Ebenezer, private
 Graham, William, private
 Hailey, John, private
 Hailey, Richard, private
 Hall, William, private
 Hanes, John, Jr., private
 Harrison, Samuel, private
 Hays, John, sergeant

Heard, Bailey, captain
 Henry, Claiborne, corporal
 Howell, Joseph, private
 James, Edward B., private
 James, Henry, private
 Jarvis, Joseph, armourer
 Joiner, James, private
 Jones, Thomas, private
 Keel, William, private
 Landrum, William, private
 Lefoy, James, private
 Lefoy, Matthew, private
 Lyon, Spencer, private
 May, David, private
 May, Robert, private
 McCrae, Christopher, corporal
 McDowell, William, private
 McLeod, Alexander, first lieutenant
 McMillen, William, musician
 McNeice, John, private
 Moseley, John T., private
 Pearson, John, private
 Perkins, William, private
 Philips, Iredel L., corporal
 Philips, Isham, first sergeant
 Philips, John, private
 Philips, Ransom, musician
 Philips, Richard L., private
 Philips, Thomas, private
 Pollard, Joseph, sergeant
 Potter, Robert D., third lieutenant
 Rankins, James, private
 Rankins, John K., corporal
 Reed, John, private
 Reeves, Eli, private
 Robertson, Aaron, private
 Rollins, Isaac, private
 Ross, Nathaniel, private
 Russell, Irvine, private
 Saterthite, Samuel, private

Sauserman, John, private	Turner, John, private
Smith, Thomas, private	Upton, John, private
Sneed, William, private	Walker, Andrew, private
Stanley, Jordan, private	Walker, Felix, private
Stephens, John, private	Walker, John, private
Sterrett, Ralph, second lieutenant	Wamuck, Francis, private
Stone, Samuel, private	Wamuch, Jesse, private
Syms, James, private	Wells, Byas, private
Tanner, John, private	Wells, Thomas, private
Taylor, James, private	West, Aquila H., sergeant
Thompson, James C., private	Williams, Joshua, ensign
Tilley, Josiah, private	Williams, Stephen, private
Tinnin, William, private	

7TH REGIMENT (PERKINS' BATTALION) OF MISSISSIPPI MILITIA

Captain Joseph Acklen's Company
 Captain Peter Barnett's Company
 Captain Samuel Bullen's Company
 Captain James Burleson's Company
 Captain Thomas Eldridge's Company
 Captain James Grafton's Company
 Captain Jonathan Gray's Company
 Captain James Hamilton's Company
 Captain William Johnston's Company
 Captain Elisha F. King's Company
 Captain James Neelley's Company
 Captain John T. Rather's Company
 Captain Abraham Roberts' Company

Abanathy, David, private	Allen, William, private
Acklin, Joseph, captain	Allison, James, private
Adair, William, private	Allison, William, private
Adams, Francis, corporal	Alman, John, corporal
Adams, James, private	Anderson, Daniel D., private
Adams, John, private	Anderson, James, sergeant
Adams, Robert, private	Anderson, Solomon, private
Adare, John, private	Anderson, William, private
Aday, Booz, private	Applewhite, Thomas, corporal
Aday, John, private	Arbough, Jacob, sergeant
Adkins, James S., private	Ard, Abraham, sergeant
Agin, William, private	Ard, James, first lieutenant
Alexander, Jourdon, private	Ashbarn, Lewis, private
Alexander, Mathew, private	Ashborn, Aden, private
Alford, David, sergeant	Ashburn, Andrew, private
Allen, Alexander, private	Ashburn, Bird, private
Allen, Eli, private	Ashworth, John, private
Allen, Philip, private	Aswell, Solomon, private

Atkins, Thomas, corporal	Boren, Mordecai, private
Atkinson, John, private	Borsby, Reaves, private
Atkinson, Littleton S., second lieutenant	Bosheart, David, private
Auyan, John, private	Bosli, John, private
Avertegas, Charles, private	Boyd, William, private
Bailey, Zachariah, private	Bradley, Bradford, corporal
Baily, David, corporal	Bradley, John M., private
Baird, William L., private	Bradshaw, Robert, private
Baldridge, Francis, private	Briley, Joseph, private
Ballew, David, second lieutenant	Britton, James, private
Barber, Samuel, private	Brooks, John, private
Barefield, Roger, private	Brooksher, — — —, private
Barnel, Joel, private	Brown, Elijah, corporal
Barnet, Amos, corporal	Brown, James, private
Barnett, Peter, captain	Brown, John Jr., private
Bass, Frederick, private	Brown, John, Sr., private
Bayless, Hezekiah, private	Brown, William, private
Beard, Samuel, private	Bruin, Peter, corporal
Belcher, Branch, private	Bryant, Robert, private
Bell, Elijah, private	Bullen, Samuel, captain
Bell, Francis, private	Bullick, James B., corporal
Bell, James H., second lieutenant	Bunch, John, ensign
Bell, Thomas, private	Burks, Jeremiah, private
Bennet, John, private	Burks, Rowland, private
Bernard, William, private	Burks, Samuel, private
Berry, Robert, first sergeant	Burleson, Aaron, private
Berry, Young, sergeant	Burlison, Edward, private
Beysore, John, private	Burlison, James, captain
Biggs, David, corporal	Burlison, James, Jr., private
Bilbo, William R., private	Burlison, Jonathan, ensign-lieutenant
Birdwell, George M., corporal	Burlison, Jonathan, Sr., private
Birmingham, Hugh, private	Burlison, Joseph, Jr., private
Black, Alexander, private	Burlison, Joseph, Sr., private
Black, Hambright, private	Butler, Samuel, private
Black, William, ensign	Butler, Thomas, private
Blackburn, John W., private	Byram, Ebenezer, first lieutenant
Blackman, Lewis, lieutenant	Byrd, Charles, private
Blackman, Samuel, private	Byrd, John, private
Blair, Andrew, private	Cabaniss, Charles, private
Blalock, Jeremiah, private	Calvert, Joseph, private
Blankenship, Calip, private	Calvert, William, private
Blankenship, William, private	Campbell, Adam, private
Block, George, private	Campbell, Daniel, private
Bly, John, private	Cannady, Josephus, private
Blythe, John, private	Cannimore, Abram, private
Boils, William, private	Cannimore, David, private
Boling, Wylie, sergeant	Carnes, Thomas, private

Carothers, Robert, private	Coleman, Noah, private
Carpenter, Owin, private	Coleman, Richard, private
Carpenter, Solomon, sergeant	Coleman, Samuel, sergeant
Carrell, Joseph, corporal	Coley, Zachariah, private
Carroll, Benjamin, private	Conley, Thomas, private
Carroll, Luke, private	Cook, Tyre, private
Carson, Andrew, private	Coolman, George, private
Carter, Matia, private	Cooper, Benjamin, private
Carter, William, private	Cooper, John, private
Cary, James, private	Cooper, William, private
Castelan, John, private	Corbitt, Walter, private
Caston, Green G., second lieutenant	Corps, George, corporal
Catterson, Patrick, private	Cotten, Peter I., private
Cawley, Jacob, private	Cotton, James, sergeant
Chambers, James, corporal	Couch, Thomas, lieutenant
Chambers, John, ensign	Coursey, William, private
Chambliss, William R., first lieutenant	Coward, Hardy, private
Chetum, Thomas R., sergeant	Cowin, John, corporal
Childers, Elisha, private	Cox, Moses, private
Childers, Jesse, private	Craft, Frederick, private
Childers, William, private	Craft, James, private
Childres, James, ensign	Craiger, John, private
Childres, Lewis, private	Craker, Abraham, private
Christain, Allen, private	Craker, John, private
Cissna, Charles, private	Craton, George W., private
Clark, Archibald, private	Crisp, Reden, private
Clark, James, private	Crossley, George, private
Clark, John, private	Crothers, William, private
Clect, John, first sergeant	Crouch, David, private
Clemm, David, private	Crouser, Richard, private
Clemm, Mason, private	Crowley, William, private
Clements, Edward, lieutenant	Crowson, David, private
Cleveland, Edward, corporal	Crowson, William, private
Clifton, Alexander, sergeant	Cruise, Henry, private
Clonch, Love, private	Culwell, Absolum, private
Cloud, Joseph, private	Cunningham, James, private
Clounch, John, private	Cunningham, John, sergeant
Cloyd, James, private	Cup, John, corporal
Cloyd, Samuel, private	Currie, John, private
Coatney, Jonathan, private	Curtis, Reuben, corporal
Cobb, Briant, sergeant	Cutler, Robert, sergeant
Cobb, James, private	Dailey, Alexander, private
Cobb, Stancil, sergeant	Dailey, Joseph, corporal
Cockram, Burl, private	Daniel, Anderson, private
Coil, James, private	Daugherty, William, sergeant
Coil, Samuel, private	Daughtry, Briant, private
Cole, Stewart, sergeant	Davidson, Andrew, private

Davis, Elijah, private	Ellison, Thomas, private
Davis, James, private	Ellison, William, private
Davis, John, private	Enceminger, Samuel, private
Davis, John J., sergeant	Erwood, William, private
Davis, Samuel, third lieutenant	Ethridge, Samuel, private
Davis, William, sergeant	Ethridge, William, private
Day, Jonathan, private	Evans, Andrew B., private
Debo, Stephen, ensign	Evans, Joseph, private
Delasmeat, John, private	Evans, Nathaniel, private
Denman, James, private	Evans, Thomas, sergeant
Dennison, Joseph, private	Fairbanks, Benjamin, corporal
Derrick, Adam, private	Farr, Robert, private
Derrick, Simon, private	Farr, Thomas, private
Derrick, Tobias, private	Felder, David, ensign
Dick, — — —, waiter	Fellow, Henry G., private
Dobbs, William, private	Ferguson, Joseph, private
Doherty, Joseph, private	Ferrell, James, private
Donaho, William, private	Ferrell, John, private
Dorsey, Richard, corporal	Finch, John, private
Dowling, Charles, private	Fine, William, sergeant
Downsy, Robert, private	Finton, Matthew, private
Dredden, Jonathan, private	Flanigan, William, private
Drewer, Antonia, private	Fleming, William, private
Dugan, Samuel, private	Flippo, William, private
Dupee, Thomas, corporal	Forgerson, James, private
Dutton, Jerrod, private	Forgett, William, private
Earl, William, sergeant	Forrest, William, private
Easley, Charles, private	Foster, John, private
Easley, Joseph, private	Fowler, Thomas, private
East, David, private	Frizby, Daniel, private
East, Jesse, private	Fry, Solomon, private
Eckford, John, private	Gage, Richmond, private
Edwards, Clarkston, private	Gaither, James, private
Edwards, James, private	Gaither, Thomas, private
Edwards, Joseph, private	Gamble, James, private
Edwards, Nathan, private	Gamble, William, private
Elder, Andrew, private	Gardner, Isaac, private
Elder, Samuel, private	Gardner, John, private
Eldridge, John R. B., first sergeant	Garlington, Edwin, private
Eldridge, Thomas, captain	Garlington, James, private
Elliot, Andrew, private	Garner, John, private
Elliot, William, private	Gassfort, Stephen, private
Elliot, Willis, private	Gatlett, Mitchell, private
Elliott, John, sergeant	Gaugue, Aaron, private
Elliott, Amos, private	Gaugue, John, private
Ellison, Isaac, private	Geron, Solomon, sergeant

Gibson, John, private
 Gilbert, John, private
 Gill, Thomas, private
 Gillen, John, private
 Ginn, Jesse, private
 Girtman, Bartholmew, private
 Glasscock, Elijah, private
 Goff, William, private
 Goodsen, Benjamin, private
 Goodson, David, private
 Goodson, James, corporal
 Goosean, Charles, private
 Gorden, Thomas, private
 Gordon, James, corporal
 Gordon, John M., corporal
 Grafton, James, captain
 Graham, Charles, private
 Graham, George, quartermaster
 sergeant
 Grant, Thomas, private
 Graves, Thomas, private
 Gravet, Jesse, private
 Gray, David, corporal
 Gray, Jonathan, captain
 Grayham, John, private
 Grayham, Nimrod, private
 Grayson, Lewis, private
 Grayson, Robert, private
 Green, Berry, sergeant
 Green, James, private
 Green, Jesse, private
 Green, John, private
 Green, Rubin, private
 Griffith, Isaac, corporal
 Griffin, Person B., sergeant
 Griffith, Abner, private
 Groomes, Isaac, private
 Groomes, Richard, private
 Guarrinan, John, sergeant
 Guice, Absalom, private
 Gullet, Richard, private
 Gunnels, Joseph, private
 Gwin, Arthur, private
 Hadden, Thomas, private
 Hadon, William, private
 Ham, Harvil, private

Hambrick, Joseph, private
 Hamilton, James, captain
 Hamner, Turner, private
 Hanigan, William, private
 Hannah, James, private
 Hannah, John, private
 Harbeson, John S., private
 Hargrove, Andrew, private
 Harkness, Richard, private
 Harlin, James, private
 Harper, James, private
 Harrington, Hudson, private
 Harris, William, private
 Hart, William, private
 Hastings, Robert, private
 Hathorn, William D., private
 Havard, Thomas, private
 Havenor, William, ensign
 Havis, Thomas, second lieutenant
 Hays, John, second sergeant
 Head, Abram, private
 Heart, Warren, private
 Hemby, James, private
 Hendrick, Aron, private
 Henry, John, private
 Henson, John, corporal
 Herrald, James, private
 Herron, Jacob, private
 Herron, Samuel, private
 Hicklin, Robert, private
 Hicks, John, private
 Hicks, Richard, private
 Hill, Bardwell, private
 Hill, Eligah, private
 Hill, John, private
 Hill, Thomas, private
 Hill, William, private
 Hillard, James, corporal
 Hillebrand, Phillip, private
 Hilton, John, private
 Hinds, Biram, second lieutenant
 Hines, Benjamin, private
 Hixon, Daniel, private
 Hoakes, Samuel, private
 Hobson, John M., private
 Hodge, Hezekiah, private

Hodge, James, corporal	Johnston, Blassingham, private
Hodges, Fleman, private	Johnston, Solomon, private
Hodges, Joshua, ensign	Johnston, William, captain
Hodges, Seth, corporal	Jones, Frederick, private
Holland, Absalom, corporal	Jones, George, private
Holland, Charles M., corporal	Jones, Hardin, corporal
Holland, Tilman, private	Jones, Henry, private
Hollaway, John B., sergeant	Jones, Jacob, fifer
Holmark, George, first sergeant	Jones, John, private
Holmes, James, private	Jones, Stephen, private
Holt, William, private	Jones, William B., private
Honey, Thomas, private	Jordan, John, corporal
Horn, Harmon, private	Jordon, Anthony, private
Horton, Thomas, private	Jordon, James, private
Hosea, John, private	Jordon, Jesse, private
Hudson, Howel, private	Kanemore, Jesse, private
Hudson, Peter B., private	Kavenor, William, first ensign
Hughes, James, corporal	Keen, David, private
Hughes, Joseph, private	Keeth, David, private
Humphrey, William, private	Kelly, Joseph, private
Humphreys, Lewis, private	Kelly, William, private
Hunt, William R., third corporal	Kemp, Thomas, private
Hurlong, Jacob, private	Kenedy, Henry, private
Huston, Archible, private	Kennedy, Martin, private
Huston, James, private	Kennemore, John, private
Ice, Frederick, private	Kennemore, Stephen, private
Ice, Thomas, private	Key, Henry, private
Ilix, John, private	Killingsworth, Henry, private
Inman, Ezekiel, private	Killingsworth, John, private
Irby, John, private	King, Elisha F., captain
Irwin, James, second lieutenant	King, George, third lieutenant
Irwin, James, private	King, George R., corporal
Irwin, William, private	King, Henry, first lieutenant
Isaac, — — — —, private waiter	King, James, private
Jack, — — — —, servant	King, John, sergeant
Jack, John, private	Kirklin, Phemas, private
Jackson, Henry, private	Kirkpatrick, Edward, private
Jackson, Hiram, private	Knight, Andrew, private
Jacobs, Silas, corporal	Koon, William, musician
Jarlinton, Edwin, private	Lacey, Bowlin, private
Jenkins, James, private	Lamberson, John, private
Jobe, Nathan, private	Lancaster, Edward, private
John, — — — —, private waiter	Langford, David, sergeant
Johns, James, private	Langham, Samuel, sergeant
Johnson, Luke, private	Langham, Solomon, private
Johnson, William, private	Lark, Joseph, private

Lasiter, Jacob, sergeant
 Lassley, John, private
 Law, Wyatt, private
 Lawler, Eli, private
 Lawler, Isaac, private
 Lawler, John, sergeant
 Lawrence, Elisha, private
 Lawrence, Jacob, private
 Lay, James, corporal
 Lay, William, private
 Lazrus, William, private
 Ledbetter, Daniel, private
 Ledbetter, Ephraim, private
 Ledbetter, Joseph, private
 Lee, Abel, private
 Lee, Gershorn, private
 Lee, Robert, private
 Leedy, Henry, private
 Legget, James, private
 Legran, Malechi, private
 Lewis, Charles A., private
 Lewis, Enuch, private
 Lewis, Isham, private
 Lewis, Joshua, private
 Lewis, William, private
 Light, George, private
 Linch, William, sergeant
 Linder, Lewis, sergeant
 Lindsey, John, corporal
 Lindsey, Thomas, private
 Lindzey, Elijah, private
 Linzey, James, private
 Lloyd, John, private
 Long, John, corporal
 Love, John, private
 Love, William, private
 Lowry, Edward, private
 Loy, George, corporal
 Lucas, John, private
 Luker, Joshua, private
 Luisk, John H., private
 Luster, James, private
 Luster, John, private
 Luttrell, Vincent, private
 Lynch, Timothy, private
 Lyning, Joel, private

Lynn, John, private
 Mackey, Jonathan, private
 Mackey, David, private
 Macoy, John, private
 Magers, Isaac, private
 Mahan, William, private
 Malone, John, corporal
 Malone, Solomon, sergeant
 Malone, William, second sergeant
 Mannan, James, private
 Mansin, Nathaniel, private
 Marshall, Lewis, private
 Marshall, Thomas, private
 Martin, Jeremiah, corporal
 Martin, John, private
 Martin, Nathan, private
 Martin, Richard, private
 Mathews, George, private
 Mathis, Azor, private
 Maxville, James, sergeant
 Maxwell, David, private
 Maxwell, James, private
 May, David, private
 May, John, private
 May, Patrick, lieutenant
 McNulty, John, private
 McBride, Dugal, private
 McBroom, Thomas, private
 McCall, Duncan, private
 McCartney, Andrew, private
 McCartney, Robert, private
 McCartney, William, private
 McCay, John, private
 McClorg, Samuel, private
 McCormic, Rody, private
 McCulley, Andrew, private
 McCutchen, Joshua, private
 McDonald, William, private
 McDowell, William, private
 McDuffee, George, private
 McFerrin, William, private
 McGahey, James, private
 McGawen, William, private
 McGinty, Reuben, private
 McGlamery, Loven, private
 McKamey, James, private

McKinney, Isaac, private	Morgan, Luther, private
McKinney, Robert, private	Morris, Edmond, private
McKinsey, Alexander, private	Morrow, James S., sergeant
McKinsey, John, private	Mowery, John, corporal
McKneely, George, private	Mullins, James, private
McLary, William, private	Mullins, William, private
McLendon, James, private	Murphey, Samuel, private
McLeymore, Presley, private	Murphy, George, private
McLin, Alexander, first sergeant	Murphy, Vincent, private
McMahan, William, corporal	Murry, John, private
McMahon, William, private	Murry, John, private
MaMane, Charles, private	Myers, George C., private
McMurtery, John, private	Nail, Andrew, drummer
McNease, Samuel, private	Neal, David, corporal
McWhorter, Benjamin, private	Neel, John, private
McWhorter, Cyrus, sergeant	Neelley, James, captain
McWhorter, Hance, private	Neely, Thomas, corporal
McWilliams, Andrew, private	Nelson, James, private
McWilliams, William, private	Nelson, Thomas, private
Meaux, Richard, sergeant	Nesmith, Thomas H., private
Medford, Jonathan, private	Nichols, James, private
Megahha, Robert, private	Nichols, Simon, private
Metcalf, Edward, private	Nicholson, John, private
Miller, George, private	Nicholson, Wesley, private
Miller, James, private	Nixon, Uriah, private
Miller, Joseph, private	Noblin, William, private
Miller, Martin, private	Norwood, Richard, private
Miller, Moses, private	Odum, Parker, private
Milton, Henry, private	O'Neal, Mitchel, private
Minix, Samuel, private	Ooten, Jeremiah, private
Minor, John, private	Orr, James, third lieutenant
Minton, Joshua, private	Osbury, John, private
Mitchell, John, private	Ostean, Thomas, private
Montgomery, Hugh, private	Owen, Ezekiel, first lieutenant
Montgomery, John, private	Owens, David, private
Moon, John, private	Owings, Calep, sergeant
Moon, John, Jr., private	Pace, Isham, private
Moon, Samuel, private	Pace, William, private
Moone, Nathaniel, private	Page, Lewis, ensign
Moore, James, private	Parker, David, private
Moore, Jeffries H., first lieutenant	Parker, Isaac, private
Moore, John, private	Parker, Isom, private
Moore, Joseph, private	Parker, John, private
Moore, William C., sergeant	Parker, Joseph, private
Mooreland, William, private	Parris, Francisco, private
Morgan, Harbert, private	Paterson, Anejust, private

Paterson, Dunson, private	Rains, Stephen, private
Patrick, Jackson, private	Rather, John T., captain
Patterson, Josiah, private	Ratliff, John, private
Patterson, Leonard, sergeant	Ray, Martin, first sergeant
Patterson, William private	Ray, Samuel, private
Patton, William, private	Read, C. N., surgeon
Payne, Martin, private	Read, John, private
Pearce, Joel, private	Redden, Elemeuel, private
Peavey, Wade H., private	Renno, Lewis, sergeant
Pence, John, private	Reter, Hezekiah, private
Perkins, Peter, lieutenant-colonel	Reynolds, John H., private
Person, William, private	Reynolds, Thomas, private
Peter, — — —, waiter	Rhea, Samuel, private
Peterson, David, private	Rhodes, Hazel, private
Pettis, John, private	Rice, Aron, corporal
Peyatt, Samuel, private	Rice, Daniel, private
Phillips, Jeremiah, private	Rice, Joel L., private
Pickett, Lewis, private	Rice, John, private
Pike, Jacob, private	Rice, Joseph, corporal
Pilaut, William, private	Rice, Spencer, private
Pirvis, John, private	Rife, William, private
Pittard, Abner, private	Right, Richard, M., private
Pittman, Hiram, private	Roach, William, private
Pittman, John, private	Roades, John, private
Pool, William, private	Roberts, Abraham, captain
Poole, Adam, corporal	Roberts, Daniel, private
Poole, David, private	Roberts, Isaac, private
Porikett, Jacob, private	Roberts, Joab, private
Porter, John, private	Roberts, John, private
Porter, John C., private	Robertson, George, private
Postell, Edward, corporal	Robertson, Joseph, third lieutenant
Potts, George, private	Robertson, William, private
Powell, Joseph, ensign	Robinett, William C., private
Powell, William, private	Robinson, Eli, third lieutenant
Prestidge, Samuel, private	Robinson, John, private
Provance, John, private	Robinson, William, private
Province, Thomas, private	Roche, John H., private
Purden, James R., private	Rochell, John, private
Qarons, Thomas, private	Rodgers, George, private
Quine, Elemeuel, corporal	Rodgers, John, private
Raborn, Mark, private	Rodgers, Reuben, corporal
Ragan, Benjamin, private	Rogers, James, private
Ragen, John, private	Rogers, Robert, private
Ragsdale, William, private	Roland, Thomas, private
Raimer, Adam, corporal	Roller, Jacob, private
Rainbolt, Elisha, private	Roller, John, private

- Rolls, Claudius, private
Romedus, Joseph, private
Ross, Ely K., major
Rotine, Isaiah, private
Rountree, Seborn, first sergeant
Rupe, William, private
Rush, Elijah, private
Rush, Joseph, private
Russell, George, sergeant
Sailing, Henry, private
Sailing, William, private
Sam, — — —, waiter
Sandell, Daniel, private
Saxon, John, private
Scarborough, Allen, private
Scarborough, David, private
Scaton, Samuel, private
Scaton, William, private
Seal, Anthony, private
Seal, Bluford, private
Scism, John, private
Scott, Thomas, private
Scott, William F., private
Sears, John, private
Seaton, John, private
Sebott, Lewis, private
Self, William, private
Sellers, Silas, corporal
Sellers, John, private
Sells, William, private
Selser, Isaac N., sergeant major
Sevier, John, sergeant
Shankle, Abraham, private
Sharp, Archer, private
Sharp, Joseph, private
Shaw, Thompson, B., private
Shell, Jacob, private
Shelton, Stephen, private
Sherkey, Allen, corporal
Shields, Jonathan, private
Shoemaker, James, private
Shott, Caleb, private
Simmons, John, private
Simmons, Jonathan, private
Simpson, William, private
Sims, Josiah, private
Sims, Michael, private
Sims, Samuel, private
Sively, Jessy, private
Sively, John, private
Skinner, Samuel, private
Smalling, Robert, private
Smith, Ambrose, private
Smith, James H., private
Smith, John A., private
Smith, Lewis, private
Smith, Pliny, private
Smith, Richard, private
Smith, Whitmal, private
Smith, William, private
Smith, William, private
Smith, William H., private
Smylie, Andrew, private
Snall, William, private
Snow, John, sergeant
Sorrels, Allen, corporal
Sorrels, Samuel, sergeant
Spigel, David, private
Springer, John, private
Spurlock, David, private
Standlee, Thomas, private
Steegar, Edward, private
Stephens, Isaac, private
Steward, David, private
Stewart, William, private
Stone, Eli, private
Stone, Frederick P., private
Stone, Jesse, private
Storton, Jonathan, private
Strain, Thomas, private
Street, William, corporal
Stringfellow, James, private
Sullivan, Daniel, private
Swaney, Edmund A., private
Tackett, George, private
Tapley, Evan, private
Tatum, John, sergeant
Taylor, Argyle, first lieutenant
Taylor, Brice, private
Taylor, Charles, private
Taylor, Hardin, private
Taylor, Joel, private

Taylor, Larkin, private	Vandaver, Hollingsworth, private
Temples, Loyd, private	Vanic, Joshua, private
Templeton, George, private	Vanic, Levin, private
Terrell, Hiram, sergeant	Vonoy, John, private
Thomas, Charles, private	Vaughan, Robert, private
Thomas, John, private	Vaughn, Benjamin, private
Thompson, Alcemene, private	Vaughn, Melkigah, private
Thompson, Coleman, corporal	Vaughn, Minoah, private
Thompson, John L., ensign	Vaughn, William, private
Thompson, Shem, third lieutenant	Vickory, Aaron, private
Thompson, William, private	Vincent, Amos, sergeant
Thorn, Presly, private	Vining, John, sergeant
Thornton, Martin, private	Vinzant, Berry, private
Thresher, Robert, sergeant	Waddy, Samuel, first lieutenant
Thurston, James, private	Wainwright, John, private
Tiegue, William, private	Walker, James B., sergeant
Tinder, Abel, private	Wall, Daniel, private
Tipton, Jacob, private	Wallace, Joel, private
Tipton, Samuel, private	Wallis, Joel, private
Tipton, Shedrick, private	Wallis, Nazara, private
Todd, James, private	Wallis, Thomas, private
Towd, James, private	Ward, Jonathan, private
Treadwell, Reuben, private	Wardlow, Alexander, private
Trentham, Robert, private	Warford, Benjamin, private
Trepho, Michael, private	Warner, Archibald, private
Trimble, Archibald, private	Waters, John, private
Trimble, John, private	Waters, Joseph, private
Trimble, Moses, private	Waters, Samuel, private
Trotmon, Samuel, private	Waters, Tilman, private
Trotmon, William, private	Watson, William, private
Trux, George, private	Weaver, Daniel, private
Tucker, John, private	Weaver, Elijah, second lieutenant
Tucker, William, private	Webb, Jacob, private
Tullis, James, private	Wells, Benjamin B., private
Turnay, Felix, private	Wells, George, private
Turnbow, Jacob, private	Wentsworth, Stephen, private
Turnbow, Robert, private	Wetherel, Theophilus, private
Turner, Donaldson F., private	Wheat, Hezekiah, private
Turner, Sugars, private	Wheat, Joseph, private
Turner, William, private	Wheeler, Joseph, private
Turvin, Richard, private	White, Isaiah, private
Tweedy, Thomas, private	Whitiker, Abraham, private
Tyrone, Adam, private	Whitour, Joshua, private
Tyrone, John, private	Whittington, John, private
Vance, Samuel, sergeant	Wilcox, James, private
Vance, William, private	Wilkinson, Stephen, private

Willborn, James, private	Woodburn, James, private
Williams, Basil, private	Woods, William, musician
Williams, Henry, private	Woods, William B., private
Wilmouth, David, private	Woodward, John, corporal
Wilson, John, private	Woodward, Thomas, private
Wilson, Samuel, private	Wright, Alexander, sergeant
Windham, Thomson, private	Wright, John, private
Windham, William, private	Wright, Robert, private
Wingfield, Austin, private	Wright, William, private
Winsted, William, private	Wright, William, sergeant
Winston, William H., adjutant	Yarborough, Joel, private
Winters, Daniel, private	Yates, Lewis, private
Wise, Nathan, private	Yocum, Jesse, private
Witherington, Gabriel, private	York, John, private
Wood, James B., first lieutenant	Young, Daniel, private
Woodall, Thomas, private	Young, Edward, private
Woodard, Jesse, private	Young, Ewing, ensign

13TH REGIMENT (NIXON'S) OF MISSISSIPPI MILITIA

Captain John Bond's Company
 Lieutenant William Bond's Company
 Captain David Cleveland's Company
 Captain Moses Collins' Company
 Captain Francis B. Lenoir's Company
 Captain James McGowen's Company
 Captain James Phillips' Company
 Captain Henry Quin's Company
 Captain Harmon M. Runnel's Company
 Captain William Smith's Company
 Captain William Spencer's Company

Addison, Hiram, private	Bailey, Thomas, private
Akin, John, ensign	Ball, Sampson E., private
Alexander, Isaac, private	Ballard, Lewis, private
Allen, Barnabas, sergeant	Ballard, Nathan, private
Allen, Garret, private	Ballard, Reuben, private
Allgood, Wiet, private	Banks, Levi, private
Andrews, James, private	Barksdale, Collier, private
Andrews, William, private	Barret, George, private
Applewhite, Stephen, private	Batson, James, private
Ard, Thomas, private	Batson, Peter, private
Armstrong, Abner, private	Batson, Seth, private
Armstrong, Jesse, private	Batson, Thomas, private
Armstrong, Jonathan, private	Beard, William, private
Ashton, Henry, private	Beasley, William, private
Askue, Henry, private	Becot, Labon, sergeant
Bagley, William, sergeant	Bell, Thomas, private
Bailey, James, private	Berry, James, private

Blue, Angus, sergeant
 Blue, Daniel, private
 Bond, Gedion, corporal
 Bond, Henry, private
 Bond, James, private
 Bond, John, captain
 Bond, Robert, private
 Bond, William, lieutenant
 Bohannon, Wily, private
 Braddy, William, private
 Breland, Hillery, sergeant
 Brent, Charnel, private
 Brent, John, private
 Brent, Merideth, ensign
 Brent, Thomas, private
 Bridges, Sampson, private
 Brister, John, private
 Brown, Daniel, private
 Brown, John, private
 Brown, Moses, sergeant
 Brown, Robert, private
 Buckaloo, John, private
 Buckaloo, Richard, private
 Buckley, James, private
 Bullin, William, private
 Bullock, David, private
 Bullock, James, private
 Bullock, Silas, private
 Burge, Nathaniel, private
 Burge, Washington, private
 Burns, Reason, sergeant
 Butler, Luke, private
 Cagle, John, private
 Calbert, Richmon, private
 Canady, Nathen, private
 Carpenter, John, private
 Carpenter, William, private
 Carson, John, Jr., private
 Carson, John, Sr., private
 Carter, Allen, private
 Carter, Burrel, sergeant
 Carter, George, private
 Carter, Hardy, private
 Carter, Marcus, E., corporal
 Carter, Michael, private
 Carter, William, lieutenant
 Catching, Jonathan, private

Catching, Joseph, corporal
 Catching, Philip, private
 Chesnut, David, private
 Cleveland, David, captain
 Clower, Daniel, private
 Clower, John, private
 Coats, Pollard H., private
 Collins, Joshua, private
 Collins, Moses, captain
 Collins, Seabourn, private
 Cook, Green, private
 Cook, Green B., private
 Cook, Matthew, private
 Cooper, Hambleton, private
 Cooper, John, private
 Cooper, John, private
 Cooper, Joseph, private
 Cooper, William, private
 Cooper, William, private
 Coore, John, corporal
 Cossey, Solomon, private
 Cothin, Asea, private
 Crawford, William, sergeant
 Croft, Jesse, private
 Cutrer, John, private
 Danaway, Joseph, private
 Davis, I. W., sergeant major
 Davis, John, private
 Davis, Samuel, corporal
 Davis, Zacheus, corporal
 Day, James, private
 Deer, John, private
 Denman, Joel, private
 Denman, Thomas, private
 Dickerson, Caleb, private
 Dickerson, John, private
 Dickerson, Thomas, private
 Dickson, David, Jr., surgeon
 Dillon, Clarkson, private
 Dillon, Theophilus, private
 Dillon, Willis, trumpeter
 Duddle, James, private
 Drake, Britain, private
 Dukes, Jephtha, private
 Dukes, Simmion, sergeant
 Dunahoo, Daniel, private
 Dunahoo, John, sergeant

Dunahoo, William, private
 Dunkley, Richard, private
 Dunn, John, private
 Edmondson, Amos, private
 Elliot, William, private
 Elliott, Samuel, private
 Ellis, George, private
 Ellis, Owen, corporal
 Ellis, Stephen, private
 Ellis, William, private
 Fairchilds, John, private
 Fairchilds, Lofton, private
 Fatheree, Readon, private
 Fatheree, Hilliard, corporal
 Fatheree, Levi, ensign
 Felder, John, private
 Fergerson, Aaron, private
 Fergerson, Eli, private
 Fergerson, Moses, private
 Fielder, William, private
 Flippin, Merrit, private
 Ford, David, private
 Ford, Preserved, private
 Foxworth, Stephen, private
 Garrel, Horatio, private
 Gates, Joshua, private
 Ginn, Jephtha, private
 Gipson, James, private
 Gipson, William, private
 Goff, Nathaniel, private
 Golman, Bedey, private
 Golman, William, corporal
 Golman, Young, private
 Graham, William, private
 Grantham, Daniel, private
 Grantham, Matthew, private
 Graves, Isaac, private
 Graves, James, private
 Graves, John, ensign
 Green, John, private
 Green, John, private
 Green, Leonard, private
 Hains, Noble W., private
 Hall, Wyatt, private
 Hambleton, Thomas, sergeant
 Harrington, Thomas, private

Harvey, John, Jr., private
 Harvey, John W., sergeant
 Harvey, Nehemiah, second lieutenant
 Harvey, Thomas, private
 Harvey, Thomas, Sr., private
 Harville, Edward, private
 Harvy, Thomas P., private
 Heard, Thomas, sergeant
 Helton, John, private
 Herrington, Hardy, private
 Hill, Harty, private
 Hollingworth, Isaac, corporal
 Holmes, Liberty, private
 Honea, Wilks, private
 Hoover, Christian, private
 Hoover, John, private
 Howell, Henry, private
 Howell, Samuel, private
 Hubert, David, private
 Huffman, Daniel, private
 Hunly, John, private
 Isaacks, Elijah, private
 Isaacks, Samuel, private
 Isle, William, corporal
 Isles, Damsy, private
 Jackson, Andrew, private
 Jacobs, Walter, private
 Jenkins, Allen, private
 Jenkins, Davis B., private
 John, — — —, private waiter
 Johns, John, private
 Johnson, George, sergeant
 Johnson, John, private
 Jones, Britain, private
 Jones, Lewis, private
 Jones, Samuel W., private
 Jones, Thomas, private
 Jones, William C., private
 Kinchin, Henry, private
 King, David, private
 King, James, private
 King, Jessee, private
 King, John, private
 King, John F., private
 King, William, private
 Kinchen, John, private

- Kinchen, Mathew, private
 Kirkland, Obediah, ensign
 Lea, Alexander, private
 Lee, James, corporal
 Lee, Major, private
 Lemmons, James, private
 Lenoit, Francis B., captain
 Lewis, Arthur, private
 Lewis, Britton, private
 Lewis, William, private
 Lewis, William, private
 Loftin, Ezekiel, private
 Lott, Abraham, private
 Lott, Arthur, Jr., private
 Lott, Arthur, Sr., private
 Lott, John, Jr., private
 Lott, John, Sr., private
 Lott, Luke, private
 Lott, Nathan, private
 Lott, Simon, sergeant
 Lott, Solomon, private
 Lott, William, Jr., lieutenant
 Lott, William, Sr., private
 Love, Robert, sergeant
 Lovin, Bailey, private
 Low, John, private
 Lowe, Lunchford, corporal
 Lumkins, Hendrick, private
 Magee, Daniel, private
 Magee, Elisha, private
 Magee, Fleet, private
 Magee, George, private
 Magee, Henry, private
 Magee, Jacob, private
 Magee, John, private
 Magee, John, private
 Magee, Nehemiah, private
 Magee, Robert, private
 Magee, Sire, private
 Magee, Solomon, private
 Magee, Willis, private
 Marshall, Matthew, private
 Martin, Aaron, private
 Martin, Cornelius, private
 Martin, Derrell, private
 Martin, William, private
 Massey, Benjamin, private
 Mathewes, John, private
 Mathewis, Shadrach, private
 Matthews, Silas, private
 May, Benjamin, private
 May, Berry, ensign
 May, Etheldredge, private
 May, Green, private
 May, John, private
 May, Joseph, private
 May, Joseph, private
 McAnulty, James, private
 McAnulty, Robert, private
 McAnulty, William, corporal
 McComb, William M., private
 McCrary, Matthew, private
 McCullie, Benjamin, private
 McCullie, James, private
 McCullie, Mathew, private
 McDaniel, John, private
 McElvin, Moses, private
 McElvinn, John, private
 McGowen, Hugh, private
 McGowen, James, captain
 McGowen, William, private
 McGraw, James, private
 McGrew, Alexander, private
 McGuffee, Alfred, private
 McGuffee, John, major
 McKinsey, David, private
 McNeal, Hector, private
 Merrel, Edmund, private
 Merret, Joel, corporal
 Mikell, James, private
 Mikell, John I., corporal
 Mikill, John I. (see John I. Mikell),
 corporal
 Miller, Jacob, private
 Minor, John, private
 Mitchell, Wright, private
 Mixon, Cornelius, corporal
 Mixon, John, private
 Mixon, William, private
 Moke, Andrew, private
 More, William, private
 Morgan, David, private

Morris, Selathiel, private	Rawls, James, sergeant
Moses, — — — —, private waiter	Read, James, corporal
Myers, Isaac, private	Redman, Jesse, private
Netherlin, Levi, private	Redmon, Wilson, private
Netherlin, William, private	Reives, Alfred, private
Nichols, David, private	Reives, John, private
Nichols, Noah, private	Reives, Thomas, sergeant
Nixon, George Henry, lieutenant-colonel	Richmon, Andrew, private
Noble, Levi, lieutenant	Rizer, Adam, private
Noble, Mark, private	Roberts, James, private
Norman, Hiram, private	Roberts, Thomas, private
Norman, James, private	Robertson, Nathan, private
Norris, Acquilla, private	Robertson, Reason, private
Oats, John H., private	Ross, John, private
Odam, William, private	Ross, Richard, private
Odum, Richard, private	Rowel, Lewis, private
Oneal, Ransom, private	Rule, Thomas, corporal
Peak, Stephen, adjutant	Runnels, Harmon M., captain
Pelatta, Francis, private	Runnels, Hiram G., sergeant
Perkins, Samuel, private	Runnels, Howell W., quartermaster
Petty, Presley, private	Rutland, Asa, private
Phillips, Elias, private	Sadler, Isaac, private
Phillips, James, captain	Sandal, Daniel, private
Phillips, Thompson, private	Sanders, Travis, private
Pleasant, Washington, corporal	Saville, Aaron, private
Pope, Benjamin, private	Seale, Daniel, sergeant
Pope, James, private	Seale, Eli, fifer
Prescott, Michael, private	Seale, Lewis, private
Prescoat, Nathan, private	Seale, William, private
Prescoat, Willis, private	Shaves, John, private
Prestredge, Howel, lieutenant	Silmon, Elias, private
Prestridge, John, private	Simmons, John, private
Prestridge, Robert, private	Simmons, Josephus, private
Prestridge, Samuel, private	Simmons, Ralph, private
Price, Stephen, private	Simmons, William, private
Prichard, William, first lieutenant	Simmons, Willis, private
Pullin, John, private	Simpson, Samuel, private
Quin, Daniel, lieutenant	Sims, Robert, private
Quin, Henry, captain	Slaughter, David, private
Ragland, Henry, private	Slaughter, George, private
Raiborn, James, private	Slaughter, John, private
Ralls, Harris, private	Slaughter, Richard, private
Ratliff, James, private	Slaughter, Robert, private
Rawls, Briant, private	Slaughter, William, corporal
Rawls, Charles, private	Smith, Alexander, private
Rawls, Jabez, ensign	Smith, Eli, private

Smith, Ezekiel, private	Thompkins, Thomas, private
Smith, Henry, major	Thompson, Archibald, private
Smith, Hugh, private	Thompson, Jesse, first sergeant
Smith, Isham, lieutenant	Thompson, Simeon, private
Smith, James, private	Thornhill, William, private
Smith, J. Carter, private	Tilley, Drury, private
Smith, Jeremiah, private	Tolar, Henry, private
Smith, John, private	Tomlinson, Jacob, lieutenant
Smith, John, private	Tompkins, John B., private
Smith, Levi, private	Toney, James, private
Smith, Thomas, private	Traylor, Matthew, private
Smith, William, captain	Traylor, William, private
Smith, William, sergeant	Tynes, Fleming, private
Smith, William, private	Tynes, Minor, private
Somner, Owen, sergeant	Vardaman, Jeremiah, private
Sones, Henry, private	Varnado, Leonard, private
Sorrel, Washington, sergeant	Varnado, Moses, private
Sparks, Richard, ensign	Walker, Charles, private
Spencer, William, captain	Wallace, Oliver, private
Steen, James, private	Wallis, Thompson, private
Steen, Nathaniel, sergeant	Warren, Daniel R., lieutenant
Steen, Robert, ensign	Warren, John, private
Steen, William, corporal	Warren, John Jr., private
Sterling, Allen, sergeant	Warren, Joseph, private
Sterling, John, Jr., private	Warren, Joseph, private
Sterling, John, Sr., private	Warren, Solomon, private
Stigler, Benjamin, sergeant	Waterhouse, John I., private
Stigler, George, private	Watson, Harrison, private
Stone, Marvel, private	Weatherby, George W., sergeant
Stovall, Charles, quartermaster sergeant	Weathersby, Isham, private
Stovall, Gilbert, private	Welcher, Duke W., private
Stovall, John, corporal	Wells, John, private
Stovall, Lewis, private	Wells, Nathaniel, major
Strickland, Robert, private	Westfall, Samuel, private
Strong, John, private	Williams, John, private
Strong, Thomas, private	Williams, Reuben, private
Summerall, Jesse, corporal	Williams, Samuel, private
Tarver, James, private	Williford, John, private
Taylor, Daniel, private	Woldredge, William, private
Taylor, John, corporal	Woodall, William, private
Tellis, John, private	Woods, John, private
Tellis, Silas, private	Wright, Reuben, corporal
Terrill, Philomon, private	Young, Green, private
Thomas, Charles, private	Youngblood, Benjamin, private
Thomas, Daniel, sergeant	Youngblood, Henry, private
Thomas, James, private	

14TH REGIMENT (McBoy's) OF MISSISSIPPI MILITIA

Captain Benj. Dubroca's Company

Captain McKinsey's Company

Captain Samuel H. Garrow's Company

Captain Chas. L. Aland's Company

Acre, Samuel, private
 Alexander, Francis, private
 Alexander, Joseph, private
 Antonio, Joachim, private
 Antonio, Joseph, private
 Arrosa, Joseph, private
 Baird, Joseph B., private
 Barlow, Aaron, private
 Barnett, Ulysses, private
 Barriel, Joseph, private
 Blair, Thomas, private
 Bloc, Andre, private
 Brewer, Cornelius, corporal
 Byrne, Patrick, private
 Cahall, Barney, private
 Canadien, Francis, private
 Cardenas, Joseph, private
 Caro, Sebastian, corporal
 Cartier, John, private
 Chance, Henry, private
 Chasting, Baptiste, private
 Chastong, Zenon, private
 Chaston, Auguste, private
 Chastong, Eugene, private
 Chinault, William, surgeon
 Chistang, Edoi, private
 Clements, — — —, private
 Conway, James, private
 Cook, John, private
 Cook, Nicholas, sergeant major
 Damour, Laine, private
 Darling, Dennison, private
 David, Pierre, private
 David, Simon, private
 Davis, E., private
 Denton, Thomas H., sergeant
 Devol, Daniel, ensign
 Dolives, Sifroy, private
 Dubroca, Benjamin, captain
 Dubroca, Eli, private
 Ducos, Pierre, private

Duff, William, private
 Dumoiy, Augustine, private
 Duncan, Alexander, Jr., private
 Dunwooddie, — — —, private
 Durette, Joseph, private
 Durette, Zedon, private
 Estava, Don McGill, private
 Fisher, William, private
 Fisher, William, Jr., private
 Frazee, Carman, corporal
 Garrow, Samuel H., captain
 Girard, Francis, private
 Grant, Edward, private
 Haines, Samuel, private
 Hobart, Peter: H., lieutenant
 Honore, Colin, private
 Hope, George, private
 Hopewell, William, private
 Huston, Robert, private
 Jack, George, private
 Killen, Samuel H., sergeant
 Kreps, Placide, private
 Kreps, Stephen, private
 Labat, — — —, private
 Lalande, Charles, captain
 Laurendine, Edward, private
 Loran, Daniel, private
 Lucien, Pierre, private
 Lyon, William, private
 Martin, Domingo, private
 McBoy, Diego, major
 McBoy, William, private
 McCandless, Joseph, private
 McGuire, James, private
 McIntire, Duncan, private
 McKinsey, Michael, captain
 McLoskey, Philip, adjutant
 Mitchell, Robert, private
 Mitchell, Thomas, private
 Mottus, Silvain, private
 Newbold, Thomas G., corporal

Nicola, Tildea, private
 Nicola, Cilvain, private
 Ortis, John, private
 Page, Jacob, private
 Paul, Joseph, private
 Perault, Michael, private
 Plumley, William, corporal
 Randols, David, private
 Randon, David, corporal
 Robinson, David C., private
 Roland, David, private
 Rose, John, private
 Saint, John, corporal
 Savannah, John, first lieutenant
 Saxton, — — — —, private
 Simon, Felix, private
 Simon, Maximilian, private

Simon, Romin, private
 Simon, Sylvester, private
 Smith, Gabriel, private
 Smith, John, private
 Smith, John, Sr., private
 Soreta, Joseph, private
 Soucier, Edward, private
 Soucier, Siforier, private
 Spillman, — — — —, private
 Staltz, William, private
 Taylor, George, sergeant
 Thornton, Joshua, private
 Thornton, William, private
 Troulle, Alexis, private
 Ward, Michael, sergeant
 Whitehead, William, private
 Wilkins, Washington, private

15TH REGIMENT (JOHNSON'S) OF MISSISSIPPI MILITIA

Anderson, John, private
 Beddingfield, George, private
 Boyakin, Solomon, private
 Braden, James, private
 Bradley, John, private
 Brown, Bartlet, private
 Brunson, Josiah, private
 Cassity, Hugh, private
 Cavenah, William, corporal
 Clarke, William B., private
 Clingaman, Henry A., private
 Colson, Samuel, private
 Cox, William, private
 Curtis, John D., ensign
 Daffin, James, second lieutenant
 Daniel, James, private
 Deloach, Benjamin, private
 Dewitt, James, private
 Dorcey, James, private
 Easley, Samuel, first lieutenant
 Ford, James, private
 Foster, George, private
 Franklin, Thomas, private
 Gentry, James, private
 Gill, James, private
 Gray, Bazzel, private
 Green, James, third lieutenant

Green, James, private
 Green, William, private
 Hall, Armistead, private
 Hammond, Lemuel, private
 Hammond, Matthias, private
 Hammond, Sherrard, private
 Hays, William, private
 Hicks, Matthew, private
 Hill, John, first sergeant
 Hogg, John, private
 Holdman, Joseph, private
 Hosea, Thomas, private
 Howel, Henry, private
 Jacob, — — — —, servant
 James, Allman, private
 Johnson, John, private
 Johnson, Thomas, private
 Jones, Elbert, private
 Kelly, John, private
 Kelly, Orson, private
 Kirkham, Benjamin, private
 Landrum, Jesse, private
 Landrum, William, private
 Lawrey, John, musician
 Luker, Jesse, private
 Mabry, Walter, sergeant
 Matlock, Thomas, sergeant

McCane, John, private
 McGrew, Alexander, private
 McNeill, L. H., sergeant
 Milsted, John, private
 Mimms, Thomas, private
 Mitchell, William, corporal
 Mixon, James, private
 Montcrief, Caleb, private
 Morgan, George, private
 Mott, Asa, private
 Mott, Lovelace, captain
 Odum, Richard, corporal
 Ogwynn, John, private
 Ousley, John, private
 Pearce, Lewis, private
 Pearson, Leonard, sergeant
 Perry, Darling, private
 Perry, Francis, private
 Pervis, John, private
 Phillips, Daniel, corporal
 Phillips, William, private
 Price, James, private
 Price, Meredith, private
 Prothro, Thomas, private

Rabia, Kinchen, private
 Ray, Henry, private
 Ray, John, corporal
 Rhodes, John, private
 Rodgers, Absalom, private
 Rodgers, Hays, private
 Rose, William, private
 Short, Michael, private
 Simmons, David, private
 Smith, Edward, private
 Smith, John, private
 Smith, Reese, private
 Spikes, Jonah, private
 Stinson, Burril, private
 Vaughn, John, private
 Walker, James, private
 Walker, Matthias, private
 Walker, Nathaniel, private
 White, Pleasant, private
 Willson, Matthew, private
 Willson, William, private
 Willson, William H., private
 Wood, John, private
 York, Jabez, corporal

16TH REGIMENT (BURRUS') OF MISSISSIPPI MILITIA

Captain Samuel A. Allen's Company
 Captain Daniel Atkins' Company
 Captain William Crawford's Company
 Captain William Evans' Company
 Captain Griffith's Company
 Captain Greaf Johnston's Company
 Captain Wm. Moseley's Company

Adams, Benjamin, private
 Adams, Joseph, private
 Adams, Thomas, private
 Albright, John, private
 Aldridge, William, sergeant
 Allen, John A., lieutenant
 Allen, Samuel, private
 Allen, Samuel A., captain
 Allen, William, private
 Allen, William S., private
 Almon, John, private
 Arnold, John, private
 Atkins, Daniel, captain

Atkins, Daniel, private
 Babb, Asel, private
 Bailes, John, private
 Baker, John, private
 Baker, William, private
 Beason, Jahu, private
 Bennet, John, private
 Berrimon, Burrel, private
 Bigham, William, private
 Bird, Isaih, private
 Birdwell, Moses, private
 Black, John, private
 Bledsoe, Lewis, private

Bloodworth, Timothy, private	Clem, Benjamin, private
Boggs, Samuel, private	Clem, Jesse, private
Bogs, John, private	Clemens, Jacob, private
Boggs, John O., private	Coal, Martin, private
Boling, Alexander, private	Cofman, Daniel, private
Bonds, James, private	Coley, James, second lieutenant
Boon, Isaac, private	Connor, Jacob, private
Boren, John, private	Cook, Benjamin, private
Bossley, John, corporal	Cook, John, private
Bounds, Solomon, private	Cook, Randal, private
Box, Michad, private	Cook, Robert, private
Bradwaters, Charles, private	Cooper, George, private
Brag, Thomas, private	Cornelius, Ira., private
Bragg, Benjamin, corporal	Cotton, Abner, private
Bragg, William, private	Cotton, Loftin, sergeant
Broils, George, private	Cottrell, John, private
Broils, Jacob, private	Craig, Adam H., private
Brown, John, private	Crawford, Alexander, corporal
Brown, Leonard, private	Crawford, William, captain
Brown, Thomas T., private	Crowder, Robert, private
Brunson, Larkin, private	Curuthers, Redrick, private
Brunson, Samuel, private	Curuthers, Robert, private
Bryan, William B., private	Cummings, Levi, private
Buckner, John, first sergeant	Cuoy, Charles, private
Buie, John, private	Daley, Joseph, private
Burchfield, Thomas, private	Daniel, William, private
Burks, Benjamin, private	Davis, John, private
Burrow, William J., private	Davis, Richard, private
Burrow, William, Sr., private	Davis, Samuel, lieutenant
Burrus, Charles, lieutenant-colonel	Davis, William, private
Cain, Samuel, private	Day, David, private
Busby, Reves, private	Dean, Samuel, private
Campbell, John, private	Dearman, William, private
Campbell, Theophilus, fifer	Doughty, William, private
Cannon, Skip, private	Dublin, James, private
Capshaw, David, private	Dublin, John, private
Carriel, Benjamin, private	Duncan, Charles, private
Carroll, William, private	Dunehue, Joseph, private
Casey, John, private	Dupre, William, corporal
Cavott, Thomas, private	Durkins, Smith, private
Chilcoath, William, private	Eddins, John, private
Childress, Jesse, sergeant	Eddins, Theophilus, corporal
Childress, John, sergeant	Eddins, Washington, sergeant
Childress, William, private	Eden, Samuel, private
Clark, Gilliam, private	Edmonson, William, second major
Clark, Samuel, private	Ellington, Garland, private
Clark, Thomas, sergeant	Elliott, Thomas S., private

Ellison, Lewis, private	Holland, John, private
Emery, John M., private	Holland, Tilman, private
Erwin, William, corporal	Holmes, James, private
Esters, Champion, private	Holmes, Jesse, private
Evans, William, captain	Hood, Frederick, corporal
Fields, Moses, corporal	Howard, John, private
Finch, William, private	Howard, Samuel, corporal
French, Amos, private	Howard, Thomas S., private
French, Benjamin, private	Hubbard, Ezekiel, private
Gailey, Andrew, private	Huder, Michael, private
Gallaspy, James, private	Hughs, Thomas, private
Gambol, James, sergeant	Hunt, George W., first sergeant
Ganda, John, private	Hutchison, Thomas, corporal
Garrett, William, private	Ingram, Samuel, private
Gibson, Aaron, sergeant	Ingram, William, private
Gillace, Dougald, private	Isbell, Jabas, private
Goor, Bledsoe, corporal	Jackson, Jacob, private
Gragg, Henry, private	Jackson, John, private
Gray, Thomas, sergeant	Jackson, Sterling, private
Green, Benjamin, private	Jackson, William, private
Greenhaw, Jonathan, private	John, Asahel, private
Greenhaw, William, private	Johnson, Burrel, ensign
Griffith, Isaac, sergeant	Johnson, Greaf, captain
Griffith, Stephen, captain	Johnson, Henry, corporal
Grooms, William, private	Johnson, Nehemiah, private
Guin, Henry, private	Jones, John, private
Guin, William, private	Jones, Moses, private
Hamilton, Asa, corporal	Jourdan, Jesse, private
Hancock, Benjamin, private	Kennedy, Lexington, private
Harbin, James, private	Kent, Elbert, private
Hardy, John, private	Kent, William, ensign
Hardy, Jonathan, private	King, Abraham, ensign
Hargrove, Valentine, adjutant	King, Elijah, private
Harper, Edward, private	King, Henry, lieutenant
Harper, John, private	Kinsey, James, corporal
Harper, Robert, private	Lancaster, Thomas, private
Harris, Matthew, private	Landrith, Thomas, private
Hartgrove, James, private	Lasey, Caleb, sergeant
Hatton, Allen, private	Lay, Simeon, private
Hawkins, Thomas, private	Lee, Isaiah, private
Helms, John, private	Lemon, Reson, private
Henderson, Pleasant, private	Lenard, John, private
Hester, John, sergeant	Leveston, Samuel, private
Hester, William, private	Levinston, Anthony, private
Hitchcock, Denton, private	Livingston, Jesse, private
Hodges, Allison, private	Loid, William, private

Loy, Henry, private
 Magby, William, private
 Manson, William, private
 Martin, James, private
 Martin, Joel, private
 Martin, Nathaniel, private
 Martin, Rial, private
 Martin, William, private
 Martindel, James, private
 Martindel, Thomas, private
 Mathews, George, private
 Mathews, James, private
 Mathews, John, private
 Mathews, Joseph, sergeant
 Mathis, George, sergeant
 Matthews, Charles, private
 Matthews, John, private
 Matthis, George, private
 McBroom, Stephen, private
 McCrachran, Daniel, private
 McCachron, Veill, private
 McCain, James, private
 McCain, John, private
 McCarty, Jacob, private
 McCowey, Samuel, private
 McGehee, Zachariah, private
 McGlamery, Sovereign, private
 McGowan, Prewett, corporal
 McIfée, Moses, private
 McKinney, John, private
 McKinney, Lynch, private
 McMillan, Absalom, private
 McMurtery, John, private
 McPhail, John, private
 McRay, Silas, sergeant
 Mechum, Banks, private
 Megge, John, private
 Mendingall, Eliasha, lieutenant
 Merrimoon, Woody, private
 Michell, James, private
 Miller, David, private
 Miller, Garland B., private
 Miller, Henry, private
 Millikin, James, private
 Mills, William, private
 Milon, Bartlet, private

Mitchel, Randol, private
 Mitchel, William, private
 Mitchel, William, private
 Modrell, Robert, private
 More, Joseph, private
 More, John, private
 Morice, John, private
 Morriss, Elisha, corporal
 Morrow, James, private
 Morrow, Thomas, private
 Morrow, William, private
 Moseley, William, captain
 Mosier, Daniel, private
 Mosier, Joel, private
 Moys, George C., private
 Mullins, James, private
 Mullins, Thomas, private
 Murfey, John, private
 Murphey, John, private
 Murphey, Thomas, private
 Murrell, Jefferey, private
 Murrell, Richard, private
 Nabors, William, private
 Nelloms, Jacob, private
 Nichols, Thomas, private
 Nixon, Uriah, private
 Norman, Barney, private
 Norman, Elisha, private
 Norwood, John M., private
 Ominet, James, private
 Paise, James, private
 Parkman, Joseph, private
 Patterson, Archibald, private
 Patterson, Daniel, private
 Peer, Daniel, private
 Pennington, Jacob, private
 Philips, Duncan, private
 Philips, Parky, private
 Phillips, Glen, private
 Pierce, Richard, corporal
 Plant, Charles, private
 Poor, Jeremiah, private
 Poor, Martin, private
 Power, Edgel, corporal
 Power, John, private
 Power, Thomas, sergeant

Prewit, William, private
Priest, James, private
Priest, Samuel, private
Raney, Zebelon, private
Redding, George, private
Redin, Leman, private
Renno, Robert, private
Rice, Spencer, private
Riddle, George, corporal
Riddle, Uriah, private
Roberts, William, private
Robertson, Eli, sergeant
Rodgers, Lemuel, private
Rodgers, Samuel, private
Rogers, James, private
Romins, James, corporal
Roper, Green, private
Sanders, Henry, private
Sanderson, Elijah, private
Sanderson, James, sergeant
Sanderson, Lewis, sergeant
Sasune, Littleberry, private
Scallion, John, private
Scruggs, James S., private
Sebott, Lewis, private
Sharpe, George, private
Sheckles, William, private
Simons, Jonathan, private
Shickle, Joseph, private
Simmon, Dudley, private
Simons, Zachariah, private
Siscoe, Jacob, private
Slaughter, James, private
Slaughter, William, private
Smith, Abraham, private
Smith, Asa, private
Smith, Isaih, private
Smith, Jacob, private
Smith, James, private
Smith, Nathaniel, lieutenant
Smith, Robert, private
Speeks, Hiram, private
Speeks, Richard, private

Speeks, Willie, private
Speer, Moses, private
Spurrs, William, private
Staggs, Thomas, private
Stephens, James, private
Steward, John, private
Sulcey, Henry, sergeant
Taylor, Isaac, sergeant
Taylor, Larkin, drummer
Therill, David, private
Thomas, Moses, private
Thomerson, John, private
Thompson, Swan, private
Tidwell, David T., private
Tilman, Daniel, private
Trump, Green H., sergeant
Turnbo, Robert, sergeant
Turnbow, Jacob, private
Tyrone, Jacob, corporal
Vaughn, Robert, private
Vaught, John, private
Vaught, William, private
Vickers, Joseph, private
Vining, Wade H., private
Walker, Robert, private
Weaver, Elijah, ensign
Wells, Humphrey, private
West, George, private
Wilkerson, Meredith, private
Williams, William, lieutenant
Williamson, Parkey, corporal
Wilmouth, David, corporal
Wilson, Harden, sergeant
Wilson, John, private
Wilson, Thomas, ensign
Winn, Robert, private
Witt, Lewis, private
Woke, David, private
York, Joseph, corporal
York, John, private
York, Uriah, private
Young, Henry, private

18TH REGIMENT (1814-1815, OF MISSISSIPPI MILITIA CAPTAIN JOSEPH VELLIO'S COMPANY)

Barabino, T. O., private	Lafontaine, C., private
Bayard, Ant, sergeant	McCall, Duncan, first lieutenant and quartermaster
Carragan, James, lieutenant	Mitchell, — — — —, private
Carver, Elihu, major	Morin, J. B., private
Cibelot, M., corporal	Morin, John, private
Courteau, Ih., private	Morin, P., sergeant
Demetry, — — — —, gunner	Nicaise, Chs., private
Domingon, H. T., sergeant	Nicholas, John, private
Favre, Charles, private	Petit, T., private
Favre, F., private	Sancier, P., private
Favre, I., private	Sancier, Ph., private
Favre, I. B., private	Saucier, T., corporal
Fayard, Laurt, private	Saucier, T. F., private
Labat, J., private	Taulme, I. B., ensign
Ladner, Bazile, private	Turin, Felix, gunner
Ladner, Carlos, corporal	Veillo, Joseph, captain
Ladner, E., private	Wilkinson, Ths., private
Ladner, F., private	
Ladner, John, private	

CARSON'S REGIMENT OF MISSISSIPPI MILITIA

Adcock, John, private	Browning, William, private
Alexander, Joseph, private	Buchanan, George, surgeon
Alexander, Jourdan, private	Buford, John, private
Allen, David, private	Busby, John, private
Austill, Jeremiah, sergeant	Busclark, William, sergeant
Baimbridge, James, private	Campbell, I. H., private
Baldwin, Benjamin, quartermaster sergeant	Carmichael, William, coporal
Baldwin, William, private	Carney, John W., private
Bates, John, private	Carson, Adam, corporal
Bazer, Edward, corporal	Carson, Joseph, colonel
Bazer, Thomas, private	Carter, Hezekiah, private
Bemus, James, corporal	Cartwright, Peter, captain
Binge, Harris, sergeant	Cavenah, William, private
Bird, William, private	Churchwell, James, private
Blackwell, David, private	Cobb, James, private
Blackwell, James, private	Cochran, William, sergeant
Bowie, John, private	Coleman, Jesse, private
Boykin, Burrel, private	Cooper, John, private
Boykin, Kinchin, private	Cox, Colin, private
Bridges, Benjamin, private	Crane, Jeremiah, private
Brown, James E., private	Crane, John, private
Brown, Solomon, ensign	Crane, Lewis, Jr., private
	Crane, Lewis, Sr., private

Curry, John, private	Irby, Charles, private
Curry, Willie, private	Irby, James, corporal
Daffin, James, private	Irvin, Hugh, private
Dawkins, Silas, private	Jenkins, James, private
Denly, James, private	Johnston, Isaac, private
Denly, John, private	Johnston, Joseph, private
Denson, Isaac, first sergeant	Joiner, James, private
Denson, Joseph, private	Keel, William, private
Devereux, Charles H., captain	Kennerly, George, private
Diven, John S., private	Ker, Henry, private
Dooly, John, private	Koin, John, private
Dupreast, James, private	Landrum, Benjamin, private
Especy, Wiley, sergeant	Lefoy, James, private
Evans, Jehu, private	Lipscomb, Abner S., lieutenant
Evans, John L., private	Lister, Josiah D., captain
Evans, Josiah, sergeant	Matthews, Samuel, private
Farr, James, private	Matthews, William, private
Fisher, Samuel, private	McCarty, Neal, private
Foster, Levy, private	McCloud, Alexander, private
Fox, John, private	McDanold, Archibald, private
Fox, Washington, private	McGee, Thomas, private
Gaines, Joab, private	McGrew, Bonaparte, private
Garvin, John, private	McGrew, William M., private
Gillespy, Joseph, private	McLendon, David, corporal
Gilmore, James, private	Melton, Andrew, private
Glover, Richard, private	Melton, William, private
Gordon, Isaac, private	Miller, Michael, private
Graves, Joshua, private	Mills, James, private
Griffin, John, private	Milstead, Abraham, private
Griffin, Moses, private	Milstead, Joseph, private
Grimes, Willis, private	Milstead, William, private
Hall, John, private	Moore, Charles, ensign
Hall, William, private	Moore, Gibson, corporal
Ham, John, private	Moore, John, sergeant
Hambrack, James, corporal	Moore, Thomas, sergeant
Hand, John B., private	Moseley, John T., private
Harris, Claiborne, private	Mott, Asa, private
Harris, John, private	Murrell, William, private
Harrison, Robert, private	Myles, John, private
Hays, John, private	Myles, Josephus, corporal
Heaton, Isaac, private	Myrick, Lyttleton, sergeant major
Helverson, Peter, private	Nabours, Lewis, private
Herrington, Hutson, private	Nail, Joel, private
Hillis, John, private	Newman, John, private
Hoven, John, private	Newman, Jonathan, sergeant
Hybert, Henry H., private	Olberson, Joshua, private

- Outon, David, private
 Pace, Isom, private
 Page, Miah, sergeant
 Patton, Joseph, private
 Pearson, John, corporal
 Perkins, William, private
 Perry, Wilson, private
 Pew, Isaac, private
 Pew, Reison, private
 Phillips, Iredal, second sergeant
 Pickering, Moses, private
 Powe, Thomas, private
 Powell, William, private
 Price, James M., private
 Price, John, private
 Raglin, David, sergeant
 Randon, David, corporal
 Rankins, James, private
 Rankins, John, private
 Rankins, William, private
 Rawlins, Mark, private
 Reed, John, private
 Reeves, Ezekiel, private
 Renfrow, James, private
 Roberts, Joseph, private
 Robinson, Aaron, private
 Robinson, Aaron, private
 Robinson, Amus, private
 Robinson, Jonah, private
 Robinson, William, private
 Rodgers, John D., lieutenant
 Rogers, Frederick, private
 Rogers, Thomas A., lieutenant and
 adjutant
 Rollins, James, private
 Russel, James, private
 Saffold, Reuben, captain
 Shaw, James, private
 Shoemate, Daniel, private
 Sibert, John, sergeant
 Smith, Daniel W., private
 Smith, Thomas, private
 Sossaman, John, private
 Standley, Jordan, first corporal
 Stean, Newbury, private
 Sterrett, Ralph, first lieutenant
 Stewart, James, private
 Stiggins, George, sergeant
 Stringer, William, second corporal
 Sullivan, Stephen, private
 Terrill, Edward Y., private
 Thompson, Thomas, private
 Tilman, Desire, private
 Tilley, Josiah, private
 Toulman, Theophilus, ensign
 Upton, John, private
 Varner, John, corporal
 Wager, David, corporal
 Walker, Daniel, private
 Walker, John, private
 Walker, Matthias, private
 Walker, Tandy, private
 Walton, James K. T., private
 Ward, Bartley, private
 Watts, John E., private
 Watts, Josiah, captain
 Weathers, Henry, private
 Wells, Archilaus, private
 Wells, Charles, sergeant
 Wells, Thomas, private
 Wells, William B., private
 Welsh, George, private
 White, David, ensign
 Williams, John, private
 Williams, Thomas, private
 Willson, M. D., private
 Woodyard, John, private
 Woodyard, Walter, private
 Worley, John B., private

COLONEL CLAIBORNE'S REGIMENT OF MISSISSIPPI MILITIA

Captain Gerard C. Brandon's Company
 Captain William Elliott's Company
 Captain Philip A. Engel's Company
 Captain Jacob Guice's Company
 Captain Philip Hill's Company
 Captain Randal Jones' Company
 Captain Zachariah Lea's Company
 Captain Lewis Paimboeuf's Company
 Captain John H. Shanks' Company

Abby, Consider, sergeant	Boatright, William, private
Adams, Samuel, private	Bolls, John, private
Aldred, Ezra, corporal	Bond, Thomas, private
Alexander, Michael G., corporal	Bonner, James, private
Alexander, Robert, first lieutenant	Boothe, John, private
Ally, Seth, private	Bower, George Wm., private
Armstreet, Aaron, private	Bowman, Richardson, first lieutenant
Armstrong, William, private	Boyce, Peyton, private
Atwood, Thomas, private	Boyd, James, private
Austin, Ozias, first lieutenant	Boyd, John, private
Bagley, William, sergeant	Boyd, William, private
Baker, Lewis, private	Braden, Joseph, sergeant
Baldrige, Alexander, private	Brady, Samuel, private
Baldwin, Hiram, first lieutenant	Brandon, Gerard C., captain
Barkley, Samuel C., private	Brant, Lewis W., corporal
Barrow, Francis, private	Brasbears, Benjamin, private
Bayley, James, private	Brashiers, James, private
Beason, William, private	Brasue, Nicholas, private
Beaty, James C., private	Brent, John, private
Beauchamp, Baptist, private	Brice, William, private
Beckworth, Jonathan, private	Britton, James, private
Bedlescomb, Jeremiah, private	Brother, Lewis, private
Bell, Drury, private	Brown, Henry, corporal
Bell, Joseph, sergeant	Brown, Isaac, private
Bell, Thomas, private	Brown, John, private
Bell, Wilkinson, private	Brown, John, private
Bender, Lott, private	Brown, Jonathan, private
Bennett, William, private	Brown, Joseph, private
Bernard, William, private	Brown, Thomas, private
Berry, Joseph, corporal	Bruner, William, sergeant
Berry, Martin, private	Brusty, Benjamin, private
Berry, Young, sergeant	Buchanan, John, private
Bethany, Matthew, private	Buckallo, Richard, private
Black, Alexander, private	Bucklie, William, corporal
Black, Daniel, private	Bullin, David, sergeant
Blanton, Benjamin, private	Bullock, David, private
Blanton, William W., first lieutenant	Bullock, James, private

- Burke, George, private
 Burks, Leonard W., corporal
 Burks, William, private
 Burnett, Mark, private
 Burns, William, sergeant
 Burton, Charles A., private
 Burton, Elbert, private
 Burton, Robert, sergeant
 Bush, William, private
 Bush, William, private
 Butler, Burwell, private
 Butler, Samuel, private
 Byrum, George, private
 Cable, Christopher, private
 Cain, John, sergeant
 Calcott, John, corporal
 Calcott, Stephen, private
 Calvit, Stephen, private
 Cammeron, John, corporal
 Cameron, James, private
 Camp, John, ensign
 Campbell, John D., private
 Campbell, Silas, private
 Canady, David, private
 Canady, Henry, private
 Canady, Nathan, private
 Carmony, William, private
 Carter, Joseph, private
 Carter, Kinchen, corporal
 Cason, Charles, private
 Cason, Henry, private
 Cassity, Tacity, private
 Cater, Josiah, private
 Caves, John, private
 Cessna, Culbertson D., private
 Chambers, Elijah, private
 Chambliss, Peter C., second lieutenant
 Chambliss, William R., quartermaster
 sergeant
 Chambliss, William R., sergeant
 Chapman, George, private
 Childers, Ware, private
 Cissna, William S., private
 Claiborne, Ferdinand L., colonel
 Clark, John, private
 Cloyd, Joseph, private
 Cloyd, William, corporal
 Cochran, David, private
 Cochran, John, private
 Cochran, John, private
 Cole, James, private
 Collier, Francis, private
 Colvin, Talton, private
 Colvin, William, private
 Conner, George, private
 Conner, James, private
 Conner, Jephtha L., private
 Cook, Green, private
 Cook, John, private
 Cook, William, private
 Coon, Jasper S. M., private
 Cooper, James, private
 Cooper, John, private
 Cordill, John, private
 Corey, Samuel F., sergeant
 Corner, John, private
 Cotton, Able, corporal
 Cotton, Haley, private
 Cotton, James, private
 Courtney, John, private
 Couzins, Mathew, private
 Coward, Needham, private
 Cox, John, surgeon
 Crane, James, corporal
 Crawford, William, private
 Crow, Clark, private
 Crow, Levi, private
 Cunningham, William, private
 Dacosta, Nicholas, private
 Daenhart, Augustus, private
 Davis, Benjamin, private
 Davis, David, private
 Davis, James, private
 Davis, Martin, private
 Davis, Martin, private
 Decell, George, corporal
 Delany, John, private
 Dell, Jacob, private
 Deloach, William R., first lieutenant
 Demars, Malcolm, private
 Dennis, Asa W., private
 Dennis, Thomas, private
 Devine, Kinsman, private
 Dickson, Thomas, private

- Dismuke, John, private
Dixon, William, private
Dobbins, Alfred M., private
Dobbs, John H., private
Dougherty, George, sergeant major
Doughty, Edward, private
Douthard, Zedekiah, private
Dowling, Charles, private
Downing, Edward, private
Downs, William, private
Dozer, Thomas, private
Duncan, William, private
Dunn, James, private
Dunson, William, private
Dupie, Thomas, private
Durin, Jonathan, private
Edmonson, Amos, private
Edwards, John, corporal
Edwards, Joseph, private
Edwards, Nathaniel, private
Edwards, Thomas, private
Eldridge, Hollam, private
Elliott, John, corporal
Elliott, William, captain
Elmore, Joseph, private
Engel, Philip A., captain
Evans, Elijah, private
Evans, William, private
Ewing, Robert B., private
Fagan, William, private
Fait, Peter, private
Fake, Thomas, private
Falls, John, private
Fatheree, Hilliard, private
Fenton, John, private
Ferguson, Benjamin, private
Ferguson, Edward, private
Ferguson, William, private
Ferrell, Daniel, private
Fife, Gilbert, private
Fife, Isaac, private
Finnehorn, John, private
Fleming, John B., private
Floyd, John, private
Ford, James, private
Ford, Joseph, private
Forget, William, private
Foster, Randal, private
Fox, Washington, private
Frasher, Ralph, private
Friley, Frederick, private
Furness, John, corporal
Gains, Fountain H., private
Garlington, Benjamin, fifer
Garlington, Edwin, private
Garriday, William, private
Gasaway, Nicholas, private
Gibson, Richard, private
Gilbert, Samuel, corporal
Gillaspie, David, private
Givens, George W., private
Glover, Anderson, private
Glover, David, private
Glover, Peter, private
Godley, Slade, private
Godley, Thomas, corporal
Goleman, William, private
Goleman, Young, private
Goober, Craddock, corporal
Goodale, Samuel, private
Goodrum, John, private
Goodrum, Thomas, private
Goodston, Benjamin, private
Goodston, James, private
Goodwin, Isaac, private
Gordon, George, private
Gordon, James, private
Gowen, James H., sergeant
Gower, Elisha, private
Graddock, Richard, private
Graham, James, private
Graves, James, private
Gray, William, private
Green, James, first lieutenant
Green, John, private
Green, Joseph, private
Greer, Aaron, private
Greer, Aquilla, private
Griffin, George, private
Griffin, Isaac, private
Griffin, James M., sergeant
Griffin, Robert, private

Griffin, William, sergeant	Holland, Alexander G., private
Grissum, Lambert D., private	Holliday, Richard I., corporal
Groves, James, private	Holloway, Lewis, private
Guest, Samuel, sergeant	Holmes, Ahab, private
Guice, David, first lieutenant	Holmes, Drewry, private
Guice, Jacob, captain	Hooper, Thomas, private
Guice, John A., private	Hooter, Jacob, private
Guice, John H., corporal	Hornsby, Joseph, private
Guice, Jonathan, sergeant	Hope, Adam, sergeant
Hall, Mathew, private	Hosey, Branson, private
Hamberlin, Peter, private	Howard, William, private
Hanna, Josiah, first lieutenant	Howard, William, private
Hanson, William, private	Howell, Jehu, private
Harford, Samuel, musician	Hudson, Josiah, private
Harold, Thomas, corporal	Hudson, Westley, private
Harrigill, Joseph, private	Huff, Benjamin, private
Harrington, Hardy, private	Huff, Holloway, private
Harrington, Jacob, private	Huffman, Alexander, private
Harrington, Thomas, sergeant	Hughey, John, private
Harris, Levi C., private	Hull, Miles, private
Harrison, Nathaniel, private	Hunter, Thomas, private
Harville, Needham, private	Hurley, Thornton, private
Havard, Elijah, private	Hyland, Christopher, corporal
Heady, Elijah, private	Hylands, John, sergeant
Heath, Thomas, musician	Ingles, Elliott, private
Helms, Henry, private	Ireson, James, private
Hellums, Enos, private	Irwin, James, private
Helvey, Henry, musician	Jack, William, ensign
Henderson, Samuel, private	Jackson, Henry, private
Henry, William H., private	Jacobs, Richard, private
Henson, William, sergeant	James, Joseph, private
Herd, Thomas, corporal	Jayne, Daniel, private
Herrin, Henry, private	Jett, James, private
Herrin, Jacob, private	Johns, David, private
Herrin, Samuel, private	Johns, Thomas, private
Herron, Benjamin, private	Johnson, Peter, private
Herron, John, private	Johnson, William, corporal
Higgins, Peter, private	Johnston, John, private
Hill, Alexander I., private	Johnston, Samuel, private
Hill, James, private	Jones, Abraham, private
Hill, Peter, private	Jones, Harden, private
Hill, Philip, captain	Jones, James, private
Hilliard, James, private	Jones, John H., private
Hilliard, Reubin, private	Jones, John S., private
Hilson, Silas, sergeant	Jones, Moses, private
Hixon, Daniel, private	Jones, Randal, captain

- Jones, Samuel, private
Jones, Thomas, private
Jordan, Charles H., private
Juvenot, Joseph, private
Kean, Thomas, ensign
Keith, Alexander, private
Keller, George, private
Keller, Joseph, private
Kellogg, Theron, ensign
Kennedy, David, private
Kennison, Nathaniel, private
Kenton, Simon, private
Kenton, William, private
Kerr, John, surgeon mate
Kinchin, Mathew, first lieutenant
King David, musician
King, William, ensign
Kirk, Michael, corporal
Kirkham, Spencer, private
Kirkland, Richard, private
Kline, Balthazar, private
Knight, Joseph, sergeant
La Chapelle, Dominic, private
Lambert, Abner, private
Lambert, Ashley, private
Landrum, William, private
Langford, David, private
Law, David, private
Lawhorn, John, private
Layson, Robert, sergeant major-ensign
Lea, Major, private
Lea, Zachariah, captain
Leak, Austin, private
Leak, William, first lieutenant
Leatherman, John, private
Lee, Charles, private
Lee, James B., private
Lee, James, private
Lee, John, private
Lefoy, Mathew, private
Lender, Daniel, private
Leonard, Jacob, private
Levertson, private
Lewis, Nicholas, private
Linder, Lewis, corporal
Lindsey, Robert, private
Llewellyn, Compton G., first lieutenant
Lobdell, James, private
Lochridge, Nicholas, ensign
Long, James, sergeant
Long, James P., private
Long, Jeremiah, private
Long, Philip P., private
Louk, Andrew, private
Love, Joseph, private
Low, John, sergeant
Lowe, Frederick, private
Lowe, Lunsford, private
Lucas, Robert, private
Lucket, James, first sergeant
Lusk, George, private
Lyon, Spencer, private
Lucky, William, private
Madden, James, private
Mann, Simpson, private
Mannen, Jeremiah, private
Manning, Silas, private
Manville, Philip, private
Mark, Samuel, private
Marler, James, private
Marrs, Thomas, private
Marshall, Reuben, private
Marshall, Solomon, private
Martin, Aaron, private
Martin, Christopher, private
Masey, Drury, Jr., private
Mason, Charles, private
Massey, Drury, Sr., private
Master, Baptist, private
Master, John, private
Masterson, Vatchel, private
Mathews, Samuel, private
Mathews, Westley, private
Matthews, Lyman, private
Maxwell, George, private
May, David, corporal
May, William, sergeant
McAleb, Alexander, private
McAlpin, Duncan, private
McCartney, James, private
McCarty, James, private
McClendon, John, private

McCune, Archibald, private	Nelson, James, private
McDaniel, Daniel, private	Newson, William, private
McDaniel, John, private	Nicholas, James, private
McGehee, Archibald, sergeant	Nichols, Benjamin, private
McGeniss, William, private	Nicholson, Samuel, ensign
McGhee, James, private	Old, James, private
McGhee, Samuel, private	Oliphant, James, private
McGohan, Peter, corporal	Osborne, James, sergeant
McGowen, James, first lieutenant	Ostin, Ozias, first lieutenant
McKean, James, private	Owens, William, private
McLaughlin, John, private	Paimboeuf, Lewis, captain
McLaughlin, William, private	Painter, Edward, private
McLeod, James, private	Pate, William, private
McLin, William, private	Patton, Francis, private
McMillion, John, private	Patton, William
McNeal, Archibald, private	Paxton, John R., private
McNeal, William, private	Payson, Robert, ensign
McNeefe, William, private	Pearce, Edmund, private
Merriday, James, private	Pentecost, George W., private
Metts, Jacob, private	Perkins, Isaac, private
Metts, Tobias, private	Petit, Lewis, private
Miller, George, corporal	Petty, William, private
Miller, Thomas, private	Peyton, Joseph E., sergeant
Minton, Joshua, private	Phelps, Samuel, private
Mitchell, Andrew, private	Phillis, Jacob, private
Mitchell, William, sergeant	Phillips, Thomas, private
Monday, Littleton, private	Pierce, John, private
Monger, Thomas, private	Pinson, Daniel B., private
Montgomery, Andrew, first lieutenant	Pitchford, Augustin, private
Montgomery, John, private	Pitman, Julius, private
Moore, John, corporal	Platner, John L., private
Morgan, John, private	Platner, William, private
Morgan, Laburn, private	Pleasant, Washington, private
Morgan, Shadrick, private	Potter, John, private
Morgan, William, private	Powell, William, private
Morris, John, private	Prestage, John, private
Morrison, John, drum major	Prestrage, Samuel, private
Murfee, Morris, private	Price, Benjamin, private
Murphey, Wiley, private	Price, Jonathan, corporal
Murphy, Benjamin, private	Quine, Lemuel, private
Murphy, Nathaniel, sergeant	Quine, Mordecai, private
Murphy, Samuel, private	Quine, Robert, corporal
Murray, Christopher, private	Rains, Stephens, private
Murray, Thomas, musician	Rains, William, private
Mygott, Austin R., fifer-corporal	Ralls, Harris, private
Neal, James, private	Ralls, James, private

Randall, Hiram, private	Shannon, James, private
Randall, Isham, private	Sharkey, Allen, private
Raybourn, Mark, private	Sharkey, Patrick, sergeant
Reed, John, private	Sharp, Samuel, private
Reed, William, private	Shaw, Thompson, private
Reynolds, James, private	Shelby, Moses, private
Rhambart, Zachariah, private	Shields, Benjamin, ensign
Rheams, Lemuel, sergeant	Shipton, Peter, private
Rhodes, Jacob, private	Short, Eli, private
Richards, Archibald, private	Shuffield, Isham, private
Riley, Stephen, private	Shuffield, Kinchen H., private
Ring, Mark, private	Shull, John, private
Ripley, Samuel, corporal	Sibley, Benjamin, private
Robert, Redding, drummer	Sibley, West, private
Roberts, Abraham, sergeant	Simmons, George, private
Robinson, Raymond, major	Simmons, Isaiah, private
Robinson, William, private	Simmons, John, private
Robinson, Younglove, private	Simms, Peyton, private
Rollins, Benjamin, private	Smallwood, Elisha, private
Ross, Daniel, private	Smith, Henry, private
Ross, Nimrod, private	Smith, James, private
Row, John, private	Smith, Laban, private
Rowe, Benjamin, private	Smith, Whitmal, corporal
Rush, Elijah, private	Southard, Joseph, private
Rushing, Matthew, private	Spillman, Ellis E., ensign
Rushing, William, private	Spurlock, David, private
Russell, Hugh, private	Spurlock, Drury, private
Russell, John, private	Steel, Robert, private
Salters, Jacob, private	Steele, Robert S., sergeant
Salvage, Benjamin F., first lieutenant and quartermaster	Stephens, James, private
Samson, Andrew, sergeant	Stephens, John, first lieutenant
Sanders, Joseph, private	Stephenson, Jonathan, private
Sanders, Keatland, private	Sterling, James, private
Saunders, James, sergeant	Stewart, John, private
Saunders, James, corporal	Steward, Robert, private
Saunders, William D., private	Stockton, Samuel, private
Scott, Casen, private	Stoker, Henry, private
Scott, James F., sergeant	Stoker, Matthew, private
Scott, John W., private	Stoker, William, private
Scott, Nehemiah, private	Stone, Frederick, private
Scurry, Eli, private	Strange, Littleberry, private
See, Howell, private	Strodart, George, private
Seward, Belloup, private	Stroud, Dixon, private
Shafer, David, private	Stroud, James, private
Shanks, John H., captain	Stuart, Thomas, private
	Sugg, William, private

Sutton, Stephen, private	Weatherby, George Wm., first lieutenant
Swain, James, private	Weatherly, John, private
Swan, Robert, sergeant	Weeve, Frederick, private
Swearingame, Joel, sergeant	Welch, John, quartermaster sergeant
Tanner, Cullen E., corporal	Wells, John, private
Taylor, Brice, private	West, William, private
Taylor, Thomas, private	Weygatt, David, private
Terry, John, private	White, Henry, private
Tharp, Jesse, private	White, Jacob, private
Thomas, William, private	White, Joel, ensign
Thomkin, Thomas, private	White, Joseph, private
Thompson, Archibald, private	White, Nelson, private
Thomson, Joab, private	Whitworth, Abraham, private
Thompson, John, private	Wigley, Job, private
Thompson, John, private	Wilcox, Benjamin, private
Thompson, Richrd, private	Wilcox, John, private
Thornhill, Robert, private	Williams, David, private
Tines, Minor, private	Williams, Elias, private
Tomlinson, Jacob, first lieutenant	Williams, Jacob, private
Tooten, William, private	Williams, John, private
Trefox, Charles, private	Williamson, James, musician
Trimble, Walter, private	Willis, Reason, private
Tullis, Thomas, private	Wilson, Abel, sergeant
Tyson, Jordan, private	Wilson, Benjamin, private
Upton, John, corporal	Wilson, John, private
Urie, Robert, private	Wilson, Matthew, private
Vance, William, corporal	Wilson, Samuel, private
Varnell, Richard, private	Wilson, William, private
Vaughn, Thomas C., private	Winnborne, David, sergeant
Verdon, Godfrey, private	Wood, John, lieutenant-colonel
Vickery, Aaron, private	Wood, John, private
Vining, John, private	Wood, William, private
Waggoner, Joseph, corporal	Woods, Joseph, private
Waid, William, private	Worsham, Joseph S., first lieutenant and adjutant
Walden, William, private	Wright, John, private
Wallace, Oliver, private	Wright, William H., private
Warren, Daniel, private	Yokum, Allen, private
Warren, Joseph, private	Young, George, private
Warsaw, John, private	Young, Peter, private
Washburn, Henry, private	Zeagler, John, private
Watson, George B., private	
Weeks, Zadock, private	

MAJOR DALE'S BATTALION OF MISSISSIPPI MILITIA

Austill, Evan, captain	Jetton, Benedix, private
Bedingsfield, George, private	Jones, Absalum, private
Creaugh, Gerard W., first lieutenant	Matlock, Thomas, private
Daffin, James, adjutant	McGee, Joseph, private
Dale, Samuel, major	Miles, John, private
Dodd, Jesse, private	Mosely, Thomas B., corporal
Dukes, H., private	Mosley, William, private
Elliot, Charles, private	Odum, Richard, private
Finley, Norris, private	Pearson, John, sergeant
Fisher, Charles, private	Rodgers, Absolom, private
Ford, James, sergeant	Rodgers, Hays, private
Foster, William, private	Simmons, David, private
Gentry, Elijah, private	Schomota, — — —, private
Gentry, James, sergeant	Talbot, John, corporal
Glass, John, private	Talbot, John Jr., private
Hammond, Jacob, private	Talbot, Joseph, private
Harbert, William, first sergeant	Vaughn, John, private
Harrell, Hardy, private	Wilson, Matthew, private
Hearn, William, corporal	Wilson, William, private
Hicklin, Robert, sergeant	Wilson, William H., private
Hunt, William, private	

MAJOR SMOOT'S BATTALION OF MISSISSIPPI MILITIA

Captain William Bate's Company
 Captain Samuel Dale's Company
 Captain John Jones' Company
 Captain Josiah D. Lister's Company

Alexander, Jordan, private	Brown, John, sergeant
Allen, David, private	Brunston, Josiah, private
Allen, Drewry, private	Busby, John, private
Angle, John, private	Chapman, Joseph, private
Arnold, Jesse, private	Christian, Cary, sergeant
Austin, Evan, first lieutenant	Christmas, Noel, private
Austin, Jeremiah, private	Churchwell, James, private
Baimbridge, Thomas, private	Coody, John, private
Bankson, John, private	Copeland, Isom, private
Bates, William, captain	Crain, Martin, private
Benge, Harris, private	Crawford, John, private
Billow, Hopson, private	Crear, Jerrard W., second lieutenant
Bilbo, James, private	Currie, John, private
Booth, John, private	Dale, James, private
Bosworth, Richard, sergeant	Dale, Samuel, captain
Braden, James, private	Davis, Simeon, private
Brashears, Jesse, private	Denson, James, second lieutenant
Brown, James, private	Drinkard, Allenton, private

Drinkard, Francis, private	McConnell, Thomas, sergeant
Dubose, Amos, corporal	McFareen, William, private
Due, Perry, private	McGee, James, private
Easley, Edward, private	McLaughlin, Edward, private
Easley, Samuel, private	McLeod, Alexander, ensign
Emmonds, John, ensign	McNeil, Lochlin H., private
Evans, Henry, ensign	Moffitt, Eli, private
Evans, Josiah, first lieutenant	Moody, Joel, private
Fenley, John, private	Monroe, Neal, private
Figures, Thomas, private	Montcreaf, Benjamin, private
Gates, Joshua, private	Morgan, George, private
George, Reuben, private	Morton, Hughes, private
Gordon, Alexander, private	Mosely, William, private
Glass, David, private	Murrell, Zachariah, private
Glass, John, private	Nail, Joel, private
Gray, William B., private	Norris, Notley, private
Green, Daniel, private	Ogletharp, John, private
Green, James, private	Patton, Thomas, corporal
Green, James, Sr., private	Pearson, John, private
Green, William, private	Pearson, Reuben, private
Grizzle, Willis, private	Penticost, G. S., private
Harris, Silas, private	Phillips, Daniel, sergeant
Heard, Bailey, first lieutenant	Pierce, John, private
Helveston, Peter, corporal	Pollard, Joseph, corporal
Henderson, Robert, private	Randon, Peter, private
Henson, John, private	Ray, Henry, private
Herbert, William, sergeant	Reaves, Eli, private
Herrington, Isaac, private	Reed, John, private
Hicklin, Robert, corporal	Roberts, Isaac, private
Hogan, Lemuel, private	Roberts, John, private
Hoskins, Henry, private	Rogers, Absalom, private
Housley, Charles, private	Ross, Nathaniel, corporal
Hughes, Isom, sergeant	Sapp, Jason, private
Huston, Archibald, private	Serrett, Ralph, ensign
Jiles, William, private	Short, John, sergeant
Johnson, James, ensign	Slay, John, private
Jones, Eford L., private	Smith, Edmund, private
Jones, Elbert, private	Smith, Neale, surgeon mate
Jones, John, captain	Smoot, B. S., major
Jones, Wiley, private	Stafford, Abraham, private
Jones, William, private	Terrell, Brian, private
Landrum, Barnes, private	Thede, Solomon, private
Lary, Daniel, private	Thomas, John, private
Lister, Josiah D., captain	Thompson, John, private
Matta, Soa, private	Thornton, William, private
May, Patrick, lieutenant and adjutant	Tisdale, William, private

Tool, David, corporal	Walley, Goldsburly, private
Toulmin, Theophilus, first lieutenant	Welch, Henry, private
Vaughan, William, private	Welsh, James, private
Vaun, John, private	White, Drury, private
Walker, Felix, private	Williams, George, corporal
Wall, Absalom, second lieutenant	Wooten, Jeremiah, private
Wall, Thomas, sergeant	Young, John, private

LIUTENANT-COLONEL NEILSON'S DETACHMENT OF MISSISSIPPI MILITIA

Captain David T. W. Cook's Company
 Captain John Joor's Company
 Captain William A. Lucas' Company
 Captain Nathan H. Luse's Company
 Captain Samuel K. Sorsby's Company
 Captain Francis Wood's Company

Adams, Joseph, private	Bennett, David, private
Adams, Thomas C., sergeant	Bennett, William, private
Aldridge, George, private	Berry, David, private
Aldridge, Sylvester, private	Best, Abraham, private
Anden, George, private	Betis, Julius, private
Anderson, Ephraim, private	Black, Alexander, private
Anderson, Henry, ensign	Boles, James, private
Anderson, Frederick, private	Booker, Samuel, private
Anderson, Robert C., sergeant	Booker, William, private
Anderson, William, corporal	Boothe, Shelly, private
Armstreat, Philip, sergeant	Bosman, Samuel, private
Armstrong, William, private	Bowling, Jesse, private
Arnold, Isham, private	Boyd, Augustus, private
Arnold, Richard, private	Boyd, John, private
Applewhite, James, private	Boyd, William, private
Ashly, John, private	Bradley, Archibald, private
Austin, John, private	Bradshaw, Peter, private
Austin, William, private	Bradway, Ebenezer, private
Bacon, John, sergeant	Brannon, Thomas, private
Badgett, David, private	Brannon, William, private
Baldrige, John, private	Brieland, Daniel, private
Baldwin, Levi, private	Briley, Job, private
Barclay, Glass C., private	Briscoe, Parmenas, major
Barkee, David, private	Brister, George, private
Barnes, Pittkin, sergeant	Brown, John, private
Barns, John, private	Brown, Joseph, private
Barron, Thomas, private	Brown, Lampkin W., private
Bass, Jeremiah, private	Brown, William, private
Bassett, William, sergeant	Brown, William, private
Baty, Francis, private	Brunaugh, Martin, sergeant
Beard, Adam, private	Buckley, William C., private

Buckman, Henry, private	Cook, Abel, private
Buckner, David, private	Cooper, Martin, private
Burge, Christopher, private	Corbet, Abel, private
Burnes, John, sergeant	Crawford, Richard, sergeant
Burnham, Gabriel, private	Crow, James, private
Burke, John E., private	Curry, Peter, private
Burks, William, corporal	Curtis, Richard, private
Burton, Charles A., private	Dancer, Ulric M., private
Burton, John, third lieutenant	Dassy, Silas, private
Burton, Thomas, private	Davis, Hugh, second lieutenant
Bush, Isaac, private	Day, David, private
Butler, Henry, private	Dean, John T., private
Calcoat, Stephen, private	Dey, Robert, private
Caldwell, R. S., private	Dismuke, Joseph, private
Calhoon, John, private	Divine, William, private
Campbell, Silas, private	Donoho, Charles, private
Carman, Asa, private	Downs, George, private
Carmany, William, private	Downs, Hiram, private
Carnis, David, private	Downs, Jeremiah, first lieutenant
Carr, John H., private	Downs, Joseph, private
Carr, Joseph, private	Draughan, Elbert, corporal
Cason, Charles, private	Ducker, John, private
Cassells, Benjamin, private	Dunn, David, private
Cassells, Reuben, private	Dunn, William, private
Cater, James, private	Duval, William B., private
Caton, Michael, private	Edwards, John, private
Chaddick, Richard, private	Egbert, John, private
Chaddick, William, private	Elkins, Ralph, private
Chambers, Elijah, corporal	Ellis, William, private
Chambliss, Peter C., ensign	Ethridge, Godfrey, private
Chaney, George W., private	Everett, John, private
Chism, Samuel F., private	Ewell, James, private
Coarsey, James, private	False, John, private
Cochran, Edward, private	Fant, John T., private
Collier, Vines L., private	Farley, Stephen E., private
Collins, Henry, private	Farmer, Joseph D., private
Collins, John, private	Farmer, William, private
Cook, David T. W., captain	Farmer, William, private
Cook, John, private	Ferry, John, private
Cook, John, private	Fleming, William, J. B., sergeant
Clanton, James, private	Fletcher, Lemuel, private
Clark, Daniel, private	Fife, John, private
Clark, Wilson, private	Fitzgerald, James, private
Clarke, Lewis, corporal	Flynn, Thomas, second lieutenant
Cole, Mason G., private	Fowler, William, private
Cole, William, private	Frank, — — —, waiter
Colville, Andrew, private	French, Robert, private

- Fridley, John, private
 Frisby, William, private
 Gaines, David, private
 Gaines, Young, private
 Galbreath, Lauvhlín, private
 Galbreath, Robert, private
 Gale, Thomas M., private
 Gardner, John, private
 Gardner, William, private
 George, Isaac, private
 Gibbs, Franklin W., private
 Gile, William, private
 Gillas, Norman, private
 Glover, Matthias, private
 Goodale, James, private
 Goodwin, John, private
 Goodwin, William, private
 Goodshorn, John, private
 Grafton, Daniel, first lieutenant
 Graham, Richard, corporal
 Griffin, Isham, private
 Guise, Ephraim, private
 Guise, John H., corporal
 Hadden, Robert, private
 Hall, John, private
 Hall, John E., sergeant
 Hallowel, William L., private
 Hammett, Absolum, private
 Harkness, Henry, private
 Harrell, James, first lieutenant
 Harson, John, private
 Hawthorn, William, private
 Henson, James, sergeant
 Herbert, William, corporal
 Hezekiah, servant
 Hickenbottom, William L., private
 Hickman, Isaac, private
 Hickman, William, private
 Hicks, James, private
 Higdon, Daniel, second lieutenant
 Hill, William, private
 Hoggatt, Phillip, first lieutenant and
 quartermaster
 Holliman, Jacob, sergeant
 Holly, Joseph, private
 House, Henry, private
 Hubbert, James, private
 Hull, Thomas M., private
 Hunter, Field P., sergeant
 Hutchinson, James, private
 Hutson, George, private
 Hux, Benjamin, private
 Hux, William, private
 Hylan, John, first lieutenant
 Inmon, Levi, private
 Jackson, Henry, private
 Jacob, — — —, servant
 Jacobs, Francis, private
 Jansen, Egbert, surgeon
 Jarome, James, private
 Jenkins, William, private
 Johnson, Hugh B., corporal
 Jones, Charles, private
 Jones, David, drummer
 Jones, Henry, private
 Jones, Isaac, private
 Jones, Richard, private
 Jones, William, private
 Jones, William, private
 Jones, William, private
 Joor, John, captain
 Keen, Thomas, private
 Kelly, Hugh, private
 Kenedy, Cade L., private
 Kennedy, David, private
 Kennison, Nathaniel, private
 Kiger, Michael, corporal
 King, Charles, private
 King, Elisha, private
 King, Richard, sergeant major
 King, Samuel, ensign
 Kinnison, Nathaniel, sergeant
 Kirkham, Thomas, first lieutenant
 Kitchens, Benjamin, private
 Kizer, John, private
 Knowland, James, corporal
 Knox, Andrew, private
 Knox, John, corporal
 Lamb, Henry, private
 Lambert, David, corporal
 Lambright, David, private
 Land, Benjamin, private

Laneheart, Jacob, corporal	Montgomery, John, private
Lee, Thomas, private	Moore, Henson, private
Leek, John, private	Moore, James, private
Lilly, Mills, private	Moore, Jesse, private
Lohorn, John, private	Moore, John, private
Long, Jeremiah, private	Moore, Parsons, private
Love, William D., private	Moore, William, private
Lucas, William A., captain	Morgan, James, private
Luse, Nathan H., captain	Morgan, John, private
Lyon, Daniel, private	Morris, John, private
Manning, William, private	Mowry, George, quartermaster sergeant
Martin, Henry, private	Murphy, Morris, private
Mashborn, Enoch, private	Murrah, Morgan, private
Matthews, Zech, private	Nathaniel, — — —, servant
Maxey, Radford B., corporal	Neal, James, private
Maxwell, William E., corporal	Neal, James, private
Mays, Stephen, private	Neeland, Middleton, private
McAllister, John, private	Neilson, David, lieutenant-colonel
McAlpin, Alexander, private	Nelson, Hugh, private
McAltie, Thomas, private	Nettles, James, private
McCall, Thomas, private	Newman, Hezekiah, private
McCartney, Lewis, private	Newman, Thomas, private
McConnell, Robert B., private	Nicholls, Julius, private
McCormick, William, private	Nugent, Lewis, private
McDaniel, John, private	Obriant, John, private
McDaniel, Jonathan, private	Ogden, George, second lieutenant
McEwen, Archibald, private	Oglesby, John, private
McGee, Jonathan, private	Oglesby, Sabert, private
McGinty, Joseph, private	Oglesby, William, private
McGlaughlin, William, private	Oliphant, James, private
McCoy, Daniel, corporal	Oliver, Robert, private
McCoy, Jesse, private	O'Neal, Peter, corporal
McKey, Hugh, private	Ostean, Gabriel, private
McLoughlin, Charles, private	Parham, Peterson, corporal
McLoughlin, Patrick, sergeant	Parker, David, private
McMorris, William, private	Parker, John, private
McNeely, Paul, private	Peck, Benjamin, sergeant
McNeil, Neil, private	Penton, William, private
McNely, John, private	Perry, John, private
Merrill, Elijah, corporal	Pervis, John, private
Mills, Edmond, private	Pharis, William, private
Mitchell, Benjamin, corporal	Phillips, Isaac, corporal
Mitchell, Bluford, private	Pickett, Lewis, private
Mitchell, Joel, private	Plaster, Thomas R., sergeant
Montgomery, Andrew, first lieutenant and adjutant	Plutner, Stephen, private
	Porter, John, first lieutenant

Porter, William S., private	Simmons, Joseph Y., private
Powers, Benjamin, private	Simms, Peyton, private
Prescott, Andrew, private	Sisson, Eldridge, private
Price, Joseph, private	Sisson, James, private
Prichard, William, private	Slocum, Charles C., private
Prince, — — — —, waiter	Smith, James, private
Quine, Henry, private	Smith, John M., private
Quine, William, private	Smith, Samuel, private
Quine, William, private	Smith, Thomas, private
Ragsdale, Elijah, private	Sorsby, Samuel K., captain
Rankin, Christopher, second lieutenant	Spires, Robert, private
Reed, Caleb, private	Stafford, James T., private
Reynolds, Thomas, private	Stark, John, private
Rhoades, Andrew, private	Steel, James, sergeant
Rice, Jesse, private	Stephens, Briton, private
Richards, Thomas, private	Stephens, Daniel, private
Roberts, Robert, private	Sterdwan, Pleasant, private
Robinson, Seth, private	Sterling, James, private
Ross, David, private	Sterling, Robert, private
Roundtree, Reuben, private	Sterns, Peter, private
Rushing, Hugh, private	Stevens, Henry W., private
Rushing, William, private	Stewart, William, private
Russel, John, private	Stiles, Chillion F., private
Ryan, Cornelius W. B., private	Strain, David, private
Sam, — — — —, servant	Strickland, Henry D., private
Sanders, James, private	Sturdivant, Henry, private
Sapp, Dill, private	Sturdivant, William R., private
Saunders, Joseph, private	Stutts, William, private
Saxon, Joshua, private	Swayney, Edmond, private
Saxon, Samuel, private	Sweat, Johnston, private
Scott, Bumberry, private	Tanner, James, corporal
Searcy, Ransom, private	Taylor, Isaac, private
Sellers, Isaac, private	Taylor, William, private
Segrist, Lewis, private	Templeton, Joseph, private
Sexton, Samuel, private	Thompson, Robert, private
Shannon, James, sergeant	Tichner, Abram, private
Shaw, Saxton, private	Tidwell, John, private
Shelly, Lewis, private	Tillery, William, private
Sheridan, Thomas, private	Toney (negro), waiter
Shilling, Abraham, private	Tribble, John M., private
Shirky, Lewis, corporal	Triplett, Daniel, private
Shirky, Patrick, corporal	Turney, John, private
Shropshire, John, private	Ursrey, John, private
Shuffield, Stephen, private	Ursrey, Richard, private
Shuffield, William, private	Usher, William, private
Sibley, William, private	Vandevall, John, corporal

VanHouten, Cornelius, sergeant	White, Richard, sergeant
Vickroy, Nathan, private	White, Robert, private
Vicks, Burwell, private	Whitehurst, J., private
Vining, Jephthah, private	Whittington, James, private
Vinson, William, private	Whittington, Willey, private
Waddle, Jacob, private	Wiley, Hugh, private
Wade, William C., private	William (negro), waiter
Walker, Alexander, corporal	Williams, Asa, private
Walker, John B., ensign	Williams, John L., private
Wall, Elisha, private	Williams, Lemuel, private
Wall, Howell, private	Wilson, Samuel, private
Weatherspoon, John, private	Windham, Stephen, sergeant
Webber, Robert, private	Wise, Brunton, private
Welch, Nathan, private	Wood, Denniss, private
Wells, Abraham, private	Wood, Francis, captain
Wells, Edmond, private	Wood, Joseph, private
Wells, Noel, private	Woolforth, Michael, private
Wheat, William, private	Wren, John, corporal
Whitacar, Isaac, private	Wright, Jesse, private
White, Benjamin, private	Wright, John, corporal
White, Benjamin, private	Wroe, William O., sergeant
White, Larkin, ensign	Young, Samuel, private

MAJOR SWAYZE'S DETACHMENT OF MISSISSIPPI MILITIA

Swayze, Nathan, major	Titus, — — — —, waiter
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CAPTAIN JOHN A. ALLEN'S COMPANY OF MISSISSIPPI MILITIA

Allen, John A., captain	Galyan, Laybourn, fifer
Baker, Nathan, private	Hodges, Elison, private
Baker, William, private	Hogland, Anthony, private
Baltimore, — — — —, waiter	Hooker, John, corporal
Bayles, Jesse, private	Houston, James, private
Bayles, John, private	Jones, Jeremiah, private
Bayles, Wyley, drummer	Long, James, private
Bell, Samuel, private	McCall, Alexander, private
Birdwell, George W., sergeant	McCall, Robert, private
Bland, John, corporal	McKee, Robert, private
Bratton, Hugh, private	Moses, — — — —, waiter
Bratton, Martin, private	Parr, John, corporal
Cheatham, Wyatt, sergeant	Parton, Leonard, private
Cock, Jesse, private	Paulley, Elijah, private
Cock, John, private	Riddle, George, private
Crayton, Gloud W., corporal	Riddle, John, private
Dalton, Samuel, private	Scaggs, Wyley, private
Galyan, Abner, fifer	Seals, Anthony, private

Seals, Bluford, private
 Smith, John A., private
 Smith, William, private
 Staggs, Zachariah, drummer
 Taylor, Harden, sergeant
 Taylor, Joel, corporal
 Townsend, Eli, private

Townsend, Johnson, corporal
 Vaughn, Peter, private
 Walker, Israel, private
 Wells, John, private
 White, James A., private
 White, Mitchel, private
 White, William, private

CAPTAIN GREEN'S COMPANY OF MISSISSIPPI MILITIA

Anderson, John, private
 Armstreet, Aaron, private
 Aswell, Hiram, private
 Barclay, Abraham, private
 Bass, William, private
 Beck, David, sergeant
 Bob, — — — —, servant
 Boots, John, private
 Bradshaw, Willis, private
 Brown, Elisha, corporal
 Brown, John A., private
 Brown, Roland, private
 Brown, Wiley, private
 Burge, Neil, private
 Burns, James, private
 Burton, Charles A., private
 Burton, Pleasant, private
 Burton, Thomas, private
 Cain, William, private
 Callihan, David M., second lieutenant
 Carter, James, private
 Caston, William R., private
 Clawson, Thomas, private
 Cockram, John, private
 Cole, William, private
 Comly, Charles, private
 Conner, James, corporal
 Cotton, Eli, private
 Coursy, James, private
 Crow, John, private
 Crow, Levi, private
 Curry, Jacob, private
 Daugherty, James, private
 Davis, John, third lieutenant
 Davis, John, private
 Dickson, Hugh, private
 Dixon, Thomas, sergeant

Dublin, — — — —, servant
 Eby, William, private
 Falls, John, private
 Fletcher, Lionel, private
 Freeman, James, private
 Fuller, Benjamin, third lieutenant
 Funk, Jacob, private
 Galbreath, William, private
 Germany, Washington, private
 Gibson, George, private
 Gibson, Jesse, private
 Green, James, captain
 Grimlair, Henry, private
 Hails, John, private
 Hamberlin, Jacob, private
 Hamberlin, Stephen, private
 Harrigill, Benjamin, sergeant
 Hawthorn, William, private
 Healy, Daniel, corporal
 Henly, Nery, private
 Hess, Nelson I., sergeant
 Hewitt, Jonathan, private
 Hogg, William, private
 House, Henry, private
 Hudnal, Ezekiel, private
 Hutchins, Jesse, private
 Irby, Hiram, private
 Issue, John, private
 Jackson, David, corporal
 James, Edward, private
 Jeffries, John, private
 Jennings, Hiram, private
 Joe, — — — —, servant
 Johnston, Thomas, private
 Jones, George W., private
 Jones, Micajah, private
 Kay, Gabriel, private

Keller, Peter, private	Pickett, John, private
Kirk, James, private	Price, Martin, private
Knox, Andrew, private	Rawls, Luke, private
Lambert, Abraham, private	Ray, William, private
Landram, Burton, private	Romedis, John, private
Landsberry, John, private	Row, John, private
Lannagan, William, private	Rundell, Joshua, third lieutenant
Lehr, John, ensign	Rush, John, private
Long, Jeremiah, private	Rushton, James, corporal
Love, W. D., private	Scisson, James, private
Lum, Israel, private	Sexton, Daniel, private
Manning, Jeremiah, private	Shropshie, Walter, private
Marlow, Allen, private	Smith, William, private
Martin, Daniel Wm., private	Sorrells, Walter, private
Martin, John, private	Sparks, Samuel, private
McCaleb, Thomas F., third lieutenant	Stokes, Thomas, private
McCarroll, Charles, private	Tankersly, Fountain, private
McCartney, Lewis, private	Tedder, William, private
McDonald, Benjamin, private	Therrell, Edmund, private
McDonald, Peter, private	Thomas, John, private
McDowell, James, first lieutenant	Turner, Arthur, private
McGee, Charles, private	Turner, Robert, private
McKee, James, private	Twilley, Joseph, corporal
McKee, Samuel, private	Usher, William, sergeant
McLaughlin, John, private	Walton, Timothy, private
Melvin, Daniel W., private	Westner, Samuel, private
Miles, Lemuel, private	Wheeler, Amos, private
Millar, John, private	Whipps, Nathan, private
Moore, John, private	White, William, private
Murphy, Wiley, private	Whitney, John, private
Murphy, William, private	Whitney, John, private
Neelands, Middn., private	Whittington, Aaron, private
Neighbours, Zedekiah, private	Wigley, Thomas, private
Nelson, James, private	Williams, William, private
Newman, Isaac A., ensign	Williams, James, private
Nichols, Henry, private	Wilbourn, Ralph, private
Odum, Abraham, private	Wilds, John D., sergeant
Oglesby, James, private	Wiley, George, corporal
Old, Thomas, private	Wilson, Daniel,
Osborn, John, private	Wright, Jesse, private
Parker, Miles, private	Wright, Joseph, private
Patterson, William, private	

DAVID HOLMES: FIRST GOVERNOR OF MISSISSIPPI.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

Martinsburg, March 7, 1859.

To COL. J. F. H. CLAIBORNE.

Dear Sir,

Your acceptable letter—acknowledging the receipt of my preliminary movements towards a compliance with your request as to the materials for your Sketch of Governor Holmes has of course established our relations and before this I hope you have received an additional sheet referring to the Governor's old batchelorship—and another containing his epitaph—I had sent out to the oldest remaining members of the family—Mrs. Mackey of Clarke—and Mrs. Morton of Charlotte Counties, Va. the first could not give me anything—but my cousin Mrs. Morton has sent me an old relic of the family Bible—showing that the Governor was born in Pennsylvania. It seems my grandfather's first two children were born there. I knew that he was married there before they moved here to the Red House place—but having heard from Col. David Hunter, my grandmother's brother, that he had moved here in 1765, I thought that my grandfather had also, but Mrs. Legrand the third child was born here. Hugh and David in Pennsylvania. The following is the extract from the old memo.

"David Holmes

"born in York County Pennsylvania at the Mary Ann Furnace—March the 10th, 1770, at 9 o'clock in the morning."

I have before me a letter from Mr. J. H. B. Latrobe telling me how to send down my picture of Gov. H. and that he would attend to the preparation of the photographs. I would like to hear from you, what number of copies you need, and what I shall do with the copy to be engraved, &c. I suppose Mr. Latrobe will be the most effective person to attend to that part of the work. Sartain of Philadelphia is decidedly at the head of the profession in mezzo tint. In my memoir of the Rev. James Chisholm he prepared the prefixed portrait from a daguerreotype and the fidelity of the copy is exemplary. If Henry Polloch, 155 W. Baltimore Street, makes a good copy of the picture, I should be sure of Sartain. I have also an engraving by St. Memin when the Governor was in Congress, but this is a profile and would not help the cause. My painted portrait is the best likeness, I think, that I ever saw, even to the "cock of the eye," called here the "Hunter Cock," a known peculiarity. One of my brother's children has it, and it is as transmissible as the Red Gauntlet mark of the horse shoe, or the short little finger of the Holmes family—even that the painter has involuntarily copied.

I have forbore to inflict any of the illustrative anecdotes upon you, the interest in such things is very apt to be overrated by members of the family, who have the toleration of family feeling and the associations of family affections to give, such (to them) an acceptance, not to be expected from strangers. Still if you wish it, I can tell you stories of his.

1. Queer helplessness in riding, driving, carving, &c., the very reverse of his brother Hugh Holmes.

2. His high calm courage (Mr. Dunbar can tell you of an instance with Governor Poindexter) but I don't know that it would do to publish it.

3. His bonhomie, and sociableness, and love of a joke.

4. His high sense of justice and kindness to his slaves even to that rascal Manuel who left him in his helpless condition in Winchester—running away and leaving his own wife as well as his master, who had petted him into a very worthless servant.

I wished to recapture him and was rebuked for it. "By no means, it was natural in him to get away from such a tiresome life with me—let him run Sir," and he confirmed his emancipation by his will I think.

You see what you have brought on yourself by opening the flood gates of family reminiscences. Well, you have only to say with Palemon the arbiter in Virgil's eclogue—

"*Claudite jam rivos, O puer, jam prata biberunt,*" and I will shut down.—

Yours truly dear Sir,

D. H. CONRAD.

MEMORANDA FOR COLONEL J. F. H. CLAIBORNE, RELATIVE TO THE LATE GOVERNOR DAVID HOLMES OF MISSISSIPPI.¹

HIS LINEAGE.

David Holmes was the second son and child of the late Colonel Joseph Holmes of the Grove, Frederick County, Virginia—and his wife (born) Rebecca Hunter. Colonel Holmes, the father, was born in the north of Ireland not far from Londonderry; the son of Hugh Holmes a gentleman of fair property there, and emigrated alone of all his family to this country, many years before the Revolution, when he was sixteen years of age; in consequence (so the tradition of the family goes) of a second marriage of his father—after which he had no connection or communication with his relatives in his native country. Colonel Holmes was a man of good education, a successful merchant in Winchester, Virginia, before the Revolution, and was during the War of the Revolution Colonel Commissary of prisoners. As such he is referred to, by Lieutenant-General Stewart in his memoirs who was the senior officer, among those prisoners taken at Saratoga, and who were removed from Charlottesville to Winchester during the war. Colonel Holmes, judging from his Coat of Arms, which he always had (after the old fashion) pasted in his books, came of the Holmes of Staffordshire, England, originally. He was a man of high toned character, of a high temper, too, and great spirit, many things are remembered of him illustrating all these traits, which need not be referred to here. His son David inherited enough of his peculiar traits to mark him as a man of scrupulous honor and undoubted courage, but the sweetness and gentleness of his disposition was derived from his mother, Mrs. Rebecca Holmes.

She was the daughter of David Hunter, who settled in Berkeley

¹ The manuscript is accurately followed in all details. Judge D. H. Conrad, the author was a learned and eminent jurist of Virginia. The paper gives a side of the life of the first governor of Mississippi worthy of preservation. The writer calls it memoranda, it is really a delightful character study.

County, Virginia, at a place called "Red House" which has remained in the family until one year ago, when it was sold (or the remnant of the large Red House farm) by his two great-granddaughters, Miss Fanny W. Hunter and Mrs. Alfred Weeks of Louisiana. Mrs. Holmes was a most beautiful exemplification of the effect of the training of our old colonial ancestors. She lived and died an exemplary member of the Presbyterian Church, a venerated mother of a large family, all of whom to this day, when her descendants are numerous, revere her memory. She died in September, 1806, five days before my father, her attendant physician and son-in-law, departed this life. David Holmes was born at Mary Ann Furnace, York County, Pennsylvania on the 10th of March, 1770; died on the 20th of August, 1832, aged sixty-two years (therefore) five months and ten days.

His brothers and sisters were:—

1. His elder brother Hugh Holmes—an eminent barrister. Appointed Judge of the General Court of Virginia, in December, 1805, which he held for near twenty years, dying in Winchester in 1825. Judge Holmes, before he went on the bench, was speaker of the House of Delegates of Virginia. (I have in my library a copy of Mr. Jefferson's Manual, sent by Mr. Jefferson to him while in Richmond, acting as Speaker, with manuscript interlineations in his own handwriting). He was married and his wife survived him, but he never had children.

2. A sister, Mrs. Margaret Legrand, wife of the Rev. Nash Legrand of the Presbyterian Church in Virginia who was an eminent divine, and who survived his wife many years, and was married to a second wife, in Charlotte, Virginia. Judge Hunter Marshall of the Charlotte district is her grandson, and there are many others, grandchildren, named Morton in Charlotte.

3. Mrs. Elizabeth McGuire, married to Edward McGuire, Esq., of Winchester who left a numerous progeny. Hugh Holmes McGuire, an eminent physician and surgeon, is her oldest son. She was a model wife and mother.

4. My mother, Mrs. Rebecca Conrad, married to Dr. Daniel Conrad, of Winchester, who died in 1806. My mother the favored and favorite sister of the Governor (see his will), died at the close of the same year that he died, 1832. It is not for me to speak of her—"her works do follow her;" "her children" still live to "rise up and call her blessed."

5. Mrs. Nancy Boyd, married to General Boyd of Martinsburg, Berkeley County, Virginia. She was married in 1805, died in 1817, at Boydville near Martinsburg, and her descendants are now numerous. She was a generous, noble hearted woman, of great piety, but of very delicate constitution.

6. Joseph Holmes, a member of the bar, who died at an early age, in Kenawha County, Virginia, where he had migrated; he also died unmarried and childless.

7. Mrs. Gertrude E. Moss, wife of William Moss, Esq., of Fairfax County, Virginia, who was for many years and to the end of his life, clerk of both courts of Fairfax County. She died about the year 1825, leaving a very large family—numerously connected and highly respectable.

8. Andrew Hunter Holmes (called after Rev. Andrew Hunter, his mother's brother, Chaplain at the Navy Yard, and before that, resident at Princeton, New Jersey), the youngest child, a man of rare talents. A member of the bar in New Orleans when the War of 1812 broke out. Went into the army; distinguished himself in various engagements; especially in one on the Thames, Canada West, where he defeated part of a Highland regiment in a regular fight (see histories of the war) and fell leading on his wing of Colonel Croghan's force, against Machinaw at the unsuccessful attack on that place in 1814 (I think). See the Governor's will disposing of the sword voted by the Virginia legislature to his nearest heir male. It was left by Governor Holmes to his nephew Rev. Andrew Hunter Holmes Boyd, a son of Mrs. Nancy Boyd and an eminent divine of the New School Presbyterian Church—now living in Winchester. Major Hunter Holmes died unmarried and thus the name—so far as the Governor's family is concerned—became extinct on the 20th of August, 1832, when he died. Descendants of Colonel Holmes to the fourth generation are numerous, but they all are descendants of his daughters and bear other patronymics, the names of families into which they married.

I have thus, perhaps with more minuteness than necessary, certainly with more than you may have occasion for, referred to the lineage of your old friend and my beloved uncle, who was as a father to me—if so, you can select what may suit you and you would pardon the *laudatio personarum et temporis acti*, if you knew what cause I have for loving and revering his memory.

HIS EARLY LIFE.

The father of David Holmes lived in the town of Winchester, Frederick County, Virginia—the old fort Loudoun—which gave the name to the main street of the present town—of some five thousand inhabitants. When he was born, but a frontier village, of the colony of Virginia, settled chiefly by Germans from the Palatinate, driven out of their native land, by the persecutions of the Papal power and the results of the Thirty Years War, and by Lutherans who from religious persecution fled to this our country of refuge, whose settlements from North to South were founded by those who fled from spiritual despotism in all its forms, to raise up an empire where religious liberty might be the corner stone of a free republic. Among this population also were the Scotch Irish, or Presbyterian settlers, from the north of Ireland, and from this last class David Holmes was derived, both on his father's and mother's side. The French pretensions had been quieted after the taking of Quebec, but the troubles of our revolutionary struggle, the precursory mutterings of the storm, were rolling over the land, when David Holmes was born and his childhood and early boyhood were spent in the very times of revolutionary struggle. He was over seven years of age when the Declaration of Independence was heard through the land. His father had control of the prisoners of war sent out into the back settlements of Virginia for safety. He saw in Winchester the disaffected Quakers sent by General Washington's orders from Philadelphia under surveillance to remain there—wealthy merchants and educated men such as the Whartons, Potts and others who have since published a work, to exonerate them from the suspicion which then led to this severe measure. He witnessed as a boy of ten years old, the town filled with British officers and soldiers and Hessians taken at the battles where Burgoyne and Fraser and Reidesel had to surrender to Gates and Morgan and Schuyler. He was thus a child of the Revolution, for his father, a staunch Whig, carried out his high toned patriotism so far as to lock up the tea in his store; to be spoiled and rendered useless rather than use the "Accursed thing," which was regarded as the symbol of our purposed subjugation—and where he chose to take *continental paper money* at par, until his fair fortunes were seriously impaired by his overstrained resolve to stand by all the acts of the Continental Congress. David's youth and early manhood were spent

under the administration of General Washington—his education such as the academy in his native town could afford—and as the trusted clerk in the store of his father—who in 1785 made him a partner and from that time he became the acting partner and accountant of the mercantile establishment. The effect of this training made him all through life a man of business—a man of accuracy in keeping accounts and especially careful in meeting his pecuniary engagements; by natural disposition, he was rather disposed to neglect this important requisite of usefulness, in all kinds of business—but his mercantile training always pointed to the system of debtor and creditor by careful entries—by which he was enabled in after life as territorial governor to handle safely and account for truly, vast sums of money which passed through his hands in the affairs of the Indians that occupied so much of the Mississippi Territory and during the war, in his heavy disbursements to troops, called out in the Indian wars; and in the time of the battles, near New Orleans. He was not destined however to be confined to the “dead wood of the desk” (as Charles Lamb called it). He was a merchant until about 1790. In that year his father, Colonel Holmes, went to Richmond, as member of the legislature; and about that time David Holmes studied law in Williamsburg, the old colonial capital of Virginia. About the year 1792, David Holmes probably became a member of the bar—and not long after he settled in Harrisonburg, Rockingham County, as a lawyer ready for practice. His forensic career was not brilliant, but eminently successful, though short; for it was soon exchanged for political life. But the tradition of his career as an advocate ascribes to him an unusual fascination in his public efforts as a barrister. He had not the fire and rapidity of his brother Hugh Holmes, whose practice was unexampled for its extent, and profitableness, all through the valley; but I have heard one of his old compeers (Judge Alexander Stuart of Missouri) say that David could win his way better by his “suaviter in modo,” than Hugh could by his “fortiter in re.” To show you the opinion of one of the most eminent men that ever lived in Virginia and whose early barrister life brought him in contact with both brothers, I will transcribe here from the original letter—of the late Mr. William Wirt—directed to my lamented father-in-law, Judge Carr (late of the Court of Appeals of Virginia) an extract which was not incorporated in Kennedy’s life of Wirt, but excluded

expressly by Judge Carr for fear of giving offence. But now that all parties have passed off this transient stage of life there can be no reason for bidding its publication. These men were both alike to me in relationship and avuncular kindness; and as the oldest male representative of the family their reputations are both equally dear to me. Mr. Wirt had been writing confidentially to his dearest friend, in reference to Judge Hugh Holmes' claim to the bench of the Court of Appeals, and in which he had intimated something like an opposition to him. In a subsequent letter dated Richmond, June 10, 1815, in answer to the reply of Judge Carr, then Chancellor, living in Winchester, is this passage, so characteristic of the noble minded writer: "You ask me why a certain gentleman" (Judge Holmes) "is not a favorite of mine—in truth, he is a favorite. But there has never been that mingling of souls between us, which I have had with some others. Why? I do not know myself, unless there be a *je ne sais quoi* in friendship, as well as in love. When I first went to the bar in Stantown, he was decidedly at the head of it; and showed very clearly by his tone and manner, that he knew he was. I fancied that he exacted from me the same homage and acknowledgment of superiority that he received from other quarters. I was not entirely disposed to meet the exaction, and thought as old Johnson used to say that he did not take to me. I had been spoiled perhaps by the indulgence and tenderness of my friends, and he seemed to take so little interest in me, and to be so indifferent about me, and my fate; that for spite I did not take to him. I have been liking him more and more ever since, and could love him now if I thought he cared for my love. This is the whole truth of the matter so far as I know it myself, and I have the most perfect confidence in the character you draw of him.

"His brother Davy has been a great favorite with me from the jump. He is as gentle and kindhearted as a lamb—with a most excellent understanding, and a most original vein of original humor."

This graphic pen and ink sketch, written offhand, dictated from the heart, will be recognized as a happy likeness from one of the most gifted men ever born in our land. In the very next sentence Mr. Wirt (going over the Winchester friends of the new chancellor, whom Mr. Wirt knew there) goes on to speak of another. My reverence for his memory—my obligations to his fatherly kindness to me—must

be my excuse for putting it in here, though it has no direct relation to the subject of your history. Mr. Wirt goes on, in immediate connection:

"But Henry Tucker is one of nature's noblemen. I have never seen or read of any character that comes near my idea of him except the Chevalier Bayard. If he had lived in the age of chivalry, he would have been a knight of the first order."

HIS CONGRESSIONAL CAREER.

David Holmes was elected a member of Congress from the Congressional district composed of the counties of Rockingham and Augusta—and perhaps Shenandoah—comprising what is well known in Virginia now, as the "tenth legion," from the unvarying preponderance of Democratic principles in the political views of the people there. The party opposed to the Federal administration of John Adams, under the leadership of Mr. Jefferson entered into power in 1801. It was perhaps contemporaneous with this change in the policy of the general government, that Major Holmes was sent to Congress. I have not however accessible to me, any congressional register, or journals, to verify this belief, and I refer you to them, to show when he was first sent to Congress, and how the district was at that time arranged. The politics of Mr. Holmes were those of his father, who was an active and zealous opponent of the federal party. I also refer you to the letters selected from a mass of old papers written to him at that time, and to the printed address to his constituents (referred to in a letter of Chapman Johnson, Esq., then a rising barrister in Staunton), to show the estimation in which he was held by his constituents and his political views.

The address is dated April 26, 1808, and relates chiefly to the state of the country, and the probable results from the celebrated attack upon the *Chesapeake*, and the measures which followed that outrage, on the part of our government. The details are of public acts of Mr. Jefferson's administration, well known to those who have looked into the history of our country, fifty years since. The style and reasoning of the paper, upon these well known events, illustrates the lucidness and directness of the writer, in all his compositions. I have already sent to you, by mail, his parting address to his constituents on the 4th of March, 1809, when he left Congress for the Mississippi Territory, as the governor of that rising country.

Persons may reasonably differ as to Mr. Jefferson's policy in his embargo and non-intercourse laws, but it would be unfair to him and to his supporters, to form a judgment adverse to this policy, at that time, without regarding the great difference between the resources of the nation then and now. This paper speaks of fifteen millions of revenue as being increased above the legitimate annual receipt by the amount of outstanding bonds of previous years—four times that revenue is regarded as a very moderate income for our great republican empire now—and five or six times that amount, it is said, has been absorbed in these times of peace.

There is something peculiar to our view, now, in this mode of addressing the electors by their public servant. These addresses are not general, or confined to the public prints, but a copy was sent to each one of his constituents that he chose to make his correspondent for the occasion, thus ensuring their general diffusion among the people—the newspaper in those days was not the universal visitor of every house as it is now. Besides, there was a respectful recognition of the relations between the parties, as electors and public servant, that has for me, no little charm. There was an individual courtesy in the practice that approves itself to my taste. I well remember when a boy—barely able to write legibly—how proud I was to be allowed to sit at the table and assist in folding and directing these printed letters, and how my good uncle even at the expense of his time and patience showed me how to fold and direct them ready for his frank.

He was eminently popular among the people of his district. His gentle, kindly, genial nature disarmed all opposition to him personally. The opposition to him was always purely one of principle, and oftentimes was turned to neutrality, or actual advocacy, by his attractive traits of character. He was scrupulously careful to avoid all censoriousness. The milk of human kindness never soured in his bosom—there was a cheery, happy, sun-shiny temper in him, which drove away all ill humor, wherever he went—a subsident, subtle humor, and love of innocent quizzing, about him, which put everybody at ease where he was; a genuine republican good fellowship about him, not affected, but congenial and native—that put every man at ease—and a tact in suiting his conversation and topics to the grade of intelligence and the pursuits of his companion, which made him the most popular man I ever did know and deservedly so. As

Mr. Wirt says of him, "he had the temper of a lamb," but then he had, hidden under this sweetness of disposition, a courage, as true as a Damascus blade—a sense of honor, and personal dignity, which was at the bottom of this gentle regard for the feelings of others. He was regardful of other men's feelings and even prejudices; but he was so, because he claimed a like respect to his own. It was perfectly well known that while his good nature and sweetness of temper could never be ruffled by small annoyances, or any degree of friendly liberty; yet, he was not the man to be insulted, or imposed upon, and his roused wrath was dangerous and not to be quieted by evasive explanations, or surly apologies. He was, I know, one of the bravest men and coolest in danger, that could be found anywhere. I may have occasion to show this, by instances the most demonstrative, in the course of this sketch. After the session of Congress ending March 4, 1809, Governor Holmes, as Territorial Governor, went to Mississippi.

HIS REMOVAL TO MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY.

I well remember the time just fifty years ago, when Governor Holmes left his native place for the then unknown territory of Mississippi. I mean unknown to most of his friends here. There had been no such intercourse between the valley of Virginia and the recently purchased country at the mouth of the great river as there had been perhaps between the South and some portions of the trans-Allegheny countries on the Ohio. Nor was there any overland trade further than East Tennessee—pack horses every year were driven from Tennessee laden with peltries and venison, etc., through the valley, returning with salt generally, and sometimes cattle were driven in. But a large tract of country from Tennessee to Natchez was still inhabited by Indians and was called the Indian country. Though not always necessarily hostile, the travel through that region was not as safe, nor as comfortable as it is now through the territories west of the Mississippi held by the relics of these formidable tribes then holding the Alabama country. The title of the New Region was not in the common parlance Mississippi, but the Natchez. The Governor took out with him the servants who fell to him in the allotment of the negroes of the Grove estate after his mother died, three years before. These simple but attached people were regarded

by us children as heroes and heroines in their cheerful willingness to go to the Natchez with "Master Davy." This fidelity lasted to the day of his death, and was returned by him with a constant care of them, and his will shows how he emancipated some who could work for themselves, like Jack the blacksmith, and the others he considerably asked of the legislature of Mississippi to permit to remain in that state as free, which was generously accorded by the representatives of his fellow citizens there.

Several highly respectable families were induced to remove to the South, chiefly because he was about to make that rich region his future home. The Thurstons, Dangerfields, Gildarts and Frederick Conrad's family, and others perhaps migrated there about that same time, and settled in Louisiana and Mississippi.

Since those days, how many have left the old dominion to help to swell the growing population of the rich southwest; since those days how much easier it has become to do so. The steamboat, the railroad, the cities, villages and country domiciles have made an advance in half a century, that in some other countries a decade of centuries has not brought about. But in those days such a movement was for that distance not only a rare thing but a serious undertaking. The subsequent prosperity and eminence of many members of these families have been the reward of their enterprise.

The benefit was not confined to the emigrants. The great country of the United States has been blessed by this emigrating spirit among our people. They change their skies, but not their hearts—they carry with them the principles, moral, religious, political and social into these new countries. The population there is, at once, a matured, educated and refined one, there is no need for the slow transition from the rude to the civilized state, they are already a civilized people with room for their energies, and opportunity for their rise and advancement. The conditions of that country at that day, its people, its prospects, its resources for development, the obstacles and hindrances in the way of the emigrant, is a part and will be no doubt an interesting part of the labor you have assumed in your forthcoming work. To your better knowledge I leave it, and I pass over the interval of some eighteen years of Governor Holmes' residence in Mississippi as territorial Governor—first State Governor; Senator in Congress; to the time when a delicate constitution gave way under an ailment he

had from early years and which was exasperated by spending his summers in the South and winters in Washington as Senator—and when worn out and panting with asthma, he returned to his native town to lay his bones—after five years of protracted suffering and confinement, in the old church yard where his ancestors and many other near relatives were buried.

CHARACTERISTIC TRAITS.

In your letter of the 13th, received on this 21st of March, acknowledging the receipt of my former communications, relating to the early and last days of Governor Holmes, you say—"Do continue to jot down, from time to time, every thing you hear or think of his career from the time he landed in this territory until he left public life. I have ample materials, every anecdote you can get will be acceptable; nothing is too minute or too light for biography."

Your manifest regard, even to reverence, for the memory of this uncle of mine, chimes in so harmoniously with my own feelings, that I am tempted to forget, that your observation must be taken with this qualification—that to those like us who knew him so well and loved him so long, this may be true, but it requires some infusion of prudential reserve, in our action upon this opinion; lest we find our partiality from our relations to him, carries us too far for those who, wanting his acquaintance and regard, may consider our details too minute or trivial for general perusal. But at the risk of this, I will at once proceed to follow your instructions and leave to you to reject or modify my present contributions to your work.

One of the most remarkable features of the moral character of Governor David Holmes was his calm self-possession in danger. That cool moral courage which is as far removed from gasconade as it is from timidity. I never saw or heard of any instance in which his self-possession forsook him.

I have given you already an instance which was related by my father on the road to Bath. I give you another—under different circumstances—which I received from my wife's father, Judge Carr, late of the Court of Appeals of Virginia. A year or two after the peace of 1815, the Governor came on to visit his friends and his chief business was to adjust his accounts with the general government,

for the large sums which he had to disburse during the war—chiefly under the conduct of it, with the Indians and British by General Jackson.

Judge Carr, then a Chancellor of the State residing at Winchester, was with the Governor in Washington, and returned with him, after he had effected this settlement; the vouchers and evidences of which, he had placed in a little red morocco trunk, which he carried in his hands. Through dreadful roads, they came through Fredericktown, by Harper's Ferry—en route for Winchester. It was winter time, and the river at the ferry was swollen and covered with floating ice dashing among the rocky channels of the Potomac there. It was before the days of bridge or railroad, which now makes the passage so safe and unobservable. It was with difficulty that the ferryman could be persuaded to venture over in a yawl. The Judge said his business made it indispensable that he should go on and his companion insisted that he would not part company. The Judge proceeded to strip off his coat and waistcoat and boots to be ready for a swim, if compelled to it. The Governor, taking his little trunk of papers between his knees, wrapped his ample blue cloak around him. "Why, Governor," said the Judge, "can't you swim?" "Yes." "Don't you think you had better get ready for it?" "Why, no, Judge. If these papers are lost, I should be ruined anyhow; and then it would be so very cold in the water, that I should hardly have life enough in me to strike out. I believe I'd just sink quietly and so I'll stick to my cloak." The worthy Chancellor had the fortune to shiver in his shirt sleeves for a toilsome time, as they fought off the ice and stemmed the torrent; while the Governor jocularly encouraged him to warm himself with a boat hook, or an oar. The judge in telling the story used to say that he had some pride in his own philosophy, until this quiet composure of the Governor, put him out of conceit of it.

There were instances of this trait, in the course of his active and stirring life connected with the call for more demonstrative tokens of his courage but such involve the names of others, and the transactions and the conduct of other men, which had better be kept in unwritten tradition than by written words, rendered public.

UNHANDINESS.

There was a passivity of disposition about the Governor which proceeded in some measure from his inaptness in all accomplishments requiring active skill. He was in look and bearing always the gentleman—graceful, easy, but without any rapidity of movement or manner. His form was, though rotund in his latter days, delicate and small in structure, utterly unfitted for any athletic exercise or bodily activity. His feet and hands were as small as a woman's. He was awkward in riding, driving, or even carving at table. He cultivated a quietude of deportment, and manifested an inability to help himself that called for the help of others. You probably may have heard of his horse running off with him, in reviewing the troops once as Governor—to the great amusement of the crowd—but redeemed by the graceful good humor with which he joined in the merriment.

I remember hearing my mother tell of an incident illustrating his helplessness, as contrasted with the active stirring adroitness of his elder brother Judge Hugh Holmes, who was the boldest rider, most expert whip, and most accomplished host in upper Virginia.

My mother's health was wretched and the two brothers went with her to Berkeley Springs—this was sometime between 1819 and 1823 I think. She was placed in Judge Holmes' carriage with her brother David, while Judge H. drove his stick gig or chair that he always used on his circuit. After a time he proposed a change, that he should ride with his sister, and the Governor drive the chair. The intent of this move, was manifestly mischievous, on the Judge's part; but the Governor was not the man to suspect it, and took his seat in the slight vehicle behind the well trained, but spirited sorrel. He soon passed out of view, before the carriage, but in a brief time, was overhauled by them, horse and vehicle ranged straight across the road, the horse's head over the fence, eating the growth of the fence row—the Governor calmly seated in the gig. "Now," said the Judge, "let us see what he'll say about his driving." "What's the matter David?" "There are certainly yellow jackets about these mountains, Hugh, your horse is so restive. I like your gig, but can't stand the yellow jackets. So I think I'll let you drive your own horse." The fact being, that the horse had found it more pleasant, to take a lunch upon the herbage of the fence side than to trot in the sun and the Governor did not know how to prevent him from pleasing himself in the matter.

On this same visit to Virginia, as was always the case, many of the Governor's friends were invited to dine with him at his brother's, and indeed his sojourns in Virginia were always seasons of social festivity and joyous welcome, in dinners and parties, wherever he went, and knowing his unskilfulness in carving, he was always spared the troublesome dish by his entertainers; except upon the occasion of a dinner at his brother's who maneuvered to set him down to a goose—of course, not an old one; but still that test fowl of the carver. The bustle of the first, or serving part of the dinner, diverted attention from the Governor's progress with his subject for dissection until the Judge called out from the head of the table, "Well brother how do you come on with that roast goose?" The Governor was seen gently hacking at the unsevered wing of the goose intact, and with great good humor answered: "I can't report progress yet, but I think I am gaining on this pinion." He was, of course, relieved by the servant and permitted to eat his dinner in peace.

He could thus take a joke, and suffer quizzing from others, but woe unto the wight that came under his hands when he chose to exercise the office of quizzer, instead of bearing the honors of quizzee. I never knew that man yet who could detect the first, distant breaking of ground, in his intended circumvallation. His knowledge of character and of that part of a man's character that sticks out (so to speak) in which alone you can "hang the calfskin," (as the bastard Faulconbridge proposed on Austria's recreant limits).

I cannot resist the temptation to tell of an instance of this power of his—in his latter days when he was paralyzed—sitting in his easy chair in his flannel gown, a poor, suffering old man. His cousin, Major Kean, who had exchanged his well tried sword, for the quill, was living in Winchester then, as Clerk of the Superior Court, where indeed he still lives—the honored old soldier who fought all through the War of 1812 and with untarnished honor. The Major made it a point of duty to spend his leisure time after office hours, with his kinsman, and often beguiled the time with stories of their young days. The Governor was his senior by some years. The Major was a bachelor though, and always seemed to think the disparity greater than perhaps the Governor was willing to admit. This very natural reserve upon the question of age the Governor well understood. I was sitting listening to the animated account which the Major was

giving of what was traditionally known to us young men, as The Irish Fight, a most tremendous and riotous melee that had occurred in the early times in Winchester, between the Irish and the buckskins as the old settlers (chiefly Germans) were termed. This feud lasted for days and many crowns were cracked, and noses depleted in the village war. The Governor seemed to be very much interested in the Major's details, and put in a word here and there descriptive of the affair, and explanatory of the actors in the fray. The Major's description became more and more animated, graphic, life-like, and minute. I saw the old man's eyes twinkle (with that side-way glance which you may have observed) and knew something was coming. "Where were you Joe at the time?" "Up in the stable loft overlooking the battlefield" said the Major. "Ah! yes, your mother's stable. Well, and you must have been a right big boy, you remember it all so well. And it's at least forty years ago, Josey. I did not think it was so long—forty years ago." "Oh! but Cousin David, I don't pretend to state all this from my recollections—I was but a child. I gathered it from the talk of the old folks." "Oh! impossible—you disparage your memory—you speak as an eye witness. Why what a memory you must have, Joe." The Governor had him dead, and done with the last lick.

The humanity and goodness of heart of the subject of your biography was more marked than in almost any other man I ever knew. The milk of human kindness never seemed to turn sour in his bosom. He had a hand as open as day to gentle charity, and then he had what is better than mere pecuniary generosity, he had the charity of the apostle, which can "suffer long," which "hopeth" and "believeth" for the best, and "never faileth."

When he was at his worst and needed help and the aid of a servant who knew him and his ways and wants, Manuel, the boy that he had raised from childhood, and petted and indulged, ran off from Winchester, leaving him to find a servant where he could, and took with him money and property of his master. I had occasion to go to Winchester and when there, he was explaining to me his will, which he had left with Mr. Dunbar I think, or Judge Ellis. Especially was he particular about his servants, in his imperfect speech, trying to convey to me clearly his wishes as to his family servants Jack, Nancy, Lewis, whom he mentions in his will. I observed that Manuel, who had

been married in Winchester and left his wife and family, was well known to be at a certain place in Pennsylvania, and that while I was engaged in carrying out his wishes in sending the faithful ones to Mississippi, I would see if I could not recapture the ungrateful scoundrel who had left him as he had. "You will do no such thing Sir, let him alone—it was natural, for him, poor fellow; he had a weary time with me here, but it was his wife that he ran from. I am satisfied she made him unhappy, he would never have left me, if he had not been foolish enough to marry that free woman. No sir, my desire is that you take no steps to reclaim him—he knew he was to be free, he has only anticipated the time a little." I can understand this better now than I could then. I was dumb with astonishment at an exhibition of forbearance and forgiveness, that I was unable to comprehend then in its full disinterestedness, but I obeyed orders, and never have sought to disturb the so-called liberty of the ungrateful and pampered dog. What a careful, undeviating principle of charity governed this good man in speaking of others. Everybody could see that he could "keek through ivery ither man with sharpened, sly inspection"—as Burns hath it—but who was freer from evil speaking? How stern his rebuke of it, in those who were under his training! How well I remember instances, in which he made my cheeks tingle for rash talk about others. Some of the best lessons ever received by me—to put a bridle on my tongue, to speak evil of no man, to judge not, to think no evil, but to rejoice in the truth, I have learned by well merited checks received from him; and administered, too, in a sly quizzing way, more irresistible than the severest scolding could have been. But enough—I am, in spite of myself even, an egotist, when I recall the gentle virtues, tempered by manliness; the large experience hidden by modest courtesy, the lofty honor graced by gentle bearing in this wise, lovable, good, old man.

HIS LAST VISIT TO VIRGINIA.

The family of Governor Holmes were apprised of his intention to come to Virginia in the summer of 1827, and though deeply regretting the cause, were not surprised to learn that it was because of a serious failure of health. At one time in his life, when quite a young man, perhaps before he went to the bar, he was seriously affected with

disease of the lungs, which terminated in an internal abscess that rendered his breathing to the last degree laborious and painful. He was under the care of Doctor Daniel Conrad, his brother-in-law, in Winchester and lying at his house, to be under his constant daily care. Dr. Conrad, esteemed a very skilful, as he was a very successful physician, hardly expected him to survive the breaking of that abscess—thinking from his weak condition and the extent of the disease that he would most probably die of suffocation in the effort to discharge the accumulated matter of it. He told this to his patient, well knowing his firmness, and wishing to give him time to arrange his affairs. He received the intelligence with the most perfect calmness, but immediately insisted that he should be put into a carriage, and carried to the Berkeley Springs, thirty-five miles off. "Why, David," said his physician, "you cannot possibly survive such a trip and over bad roads." "I am aware of that," was the answer. "You will probably not reach two miles on your journey, when the abscess will break, and then you would probably die on the road and away from your mother and sisters." The reply to this was very characteristic of him: "I'm aware of that, too, but then I want to die where I may not see their sad faces around me." My father reluctantly complied with his wishes, had a carriage procured with a bed in it and all needful or possible conveniences under the circumstances, placed him in it, and went himself in his sulky with him, and sure enough the result was as he anticipated—before they had gone far the dreaded rupture of this internal abscess took place, my father, and the carriage driver, alone with him, and he often spoke of it in after life, as a severe trial to his own feelings, though used to scenes of suffering, for he loved him passing the love of a brother; and when he was congratulated on his successful treatment of him, there, in the forest road to Baltimore he said, "No, it was his incomparable patience and presence of mind that saved him—he was as calm during the suffocating coughing spell, and the almost suspension of life as if he were going to rest. No, it was his cool courage and patience that brought him through and nothing else could have done it." He was spared many years of usefulness to his country—honorable life to himself and a blessing to his relations—but the tendency of his constitution was to disease of his lungs and when in 1827, we were advised that he was afflicted dreadfully with asthma—and was coming in by sea

to Virginia—my brother and myself in July, 1827—in a comfortable carriage prepared for his condition, went from Winchester to meet him in Baltimore. Not apprised of our intention, he had hired a hack and we met him two or three miles on this side of Baltimore; transferred him to our carriage; and by slow journeys of twelve miles a day, brought him to Winchester. He could not lie down, and he took brief snatches of sleep propped up on pillows. The weather was intensely warm, and his sufferings were great, but his gentle patience and cheerfulness were equal to them. As an instance of his universal popularity and characteristic modesty, I will relate an incident on the road. One evening we were forced to stop at a wagon stand or common tavern where they had not even a mattress in the house, and this was indispensable to him. I inquired of the landlord what gentleman lived in the neighborhood from whom one could be procured. He named ex-Governor George Howard as a liberal and highly esteemed man not far off. I suggested to the Governor that I should write to him for the needed articles. He positively forbade it—he would sleep in a chair, and there was not even an arm chair in the house, nor indeed any decent or even clean bed or bedding. I determined to act upon my own responsibility, and, without his knowledge, wrote a note to Governor Howard stating our wants, and very soon a servant came with a cart containing everything and more than we asked for—clean sheets, pillows, etc., etc., and a polite note stating that he would have called over himself that evening, but had his house filled with guests, engineers of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad then engaged in the survey of the route; but that he would call in the morning, had seen the Governor and known him, and had great respect for him. By morning light, however, we had to take advantage of the coolness of the early day, and I could only leave a note of thanks. Fifteen or twenty years after, I had the pleasure of entertaining Governor Howard in my house for one evening, when after the same road was finished to Cumberland, the directors came over it to celebrate its opening. I claimed him as my guest, among the number of visitors, and persisted in it; though he had been otherwise allotted and when he expressed some surprise at my eagerness to do so, saying that he was not aware of ever having seen me before, I told him of this little incident on the road. He had forgotten it, as a gentleman writes in sand his acts of courtesy done to others, but those extended to himself, he

writes in marble. All along the road he was known and great sympathy expressed for him; we almost despaired of getting him to his old home but he seemed to wish to get there to breathe his last where he had breathed his first breath; but it was the will of God that he should spend five years more of protracted suffering—patiently endured, and cheerfully, and it was also His will that during those five years of confinement and often solitary seclusion he should find consolation and comfort in the knowledge of that Will, as revealed to man; and submission to that Will from the same source, and where alone, it can be found.

Shortly after his settlement in his lodgings at the hotel, in Winchester (for he steadily declined all invitations and most urgent ones, to stay at any of the houses of his numerous relatives, who begged to make them his home) he was one day suddenly stricken down with paralysis affecting the whole of one side, and the brain seriously at first; but this gradually but entirely passed off, leaving him helpless, but perfectly sensible and rational. Strange to say, the asthma his cause of suffering, passing away instantly and entirely; and from that time to the day of his death, he never had a symptom of its return.

The five years which he spent, almost entirely in his room, were rendered endurable by his cheerful, patient spirit. His friends delighted to visit him, he enjoyed their company and conversation. His speech was affected and his side hopelessly paralyzed, though he would sometimes walk a little with assistance and be carried out in a sedan chair made for him. His faithful surviving sister, Mrs. Conrad, seemed to live only to watch over the declining years of her brother, and took care that he was attended to, and his old Mississippi friends such as Judge Ellis and Hon. Mr. Williams and others came to see him. His sick room was oftentimes the audience chamber of select visitors and the gentle, courteous old man seemed as much at home, in his long flannel gown and easy chair as he ever was in the Senate of the United States or the Governor's house in Mississippi.

He enjoyed the company of his friends. Nothing seemed to impair his high sense of dignified courtesy and politeness. There was no indication of petulance or childishness, or weakness of feeling. It is a singular fact that he had nothing of that tendency to weep, to shed involuntary tears, which is almost invariably a symptom of this

melancholy half death nor any of that dementia, "*quae nec nomina servorum, nec vultum agnoscit amici.*" I have seen many cases of this sad infliction, so common to gifted minds that it has been called "the lawyer's last disease," and hence so humbling to human pride of intellect. I have seen more than I ever wish to see again, even in my own family, but I never saw exactly such a case as his. His brother Hugh died from the same disease but he would weep bitterly and then, as if conscious of the uselessness and causelessness of the act, would apologize for it, as one of the inevitable symptoms of the disorder. I saw nothing of this maudlin tearfulness at any time in the Governor—there was weakness of body to aid, suffering to sympathize with, and relieve if possible, but no childish pettishness to humor, or whims to gratify. The innate courage, firmness and fortitude of character absolutely seemed to conquer the invader of half of his nervous system, with the other half. The nerves of sensation were not paralyzed only the nerves of motion; he suffered constant pain. I remember a gentle rebuke (not so intended) given me. I, not knowing the fact that the disease sometimes has that peculiarity and that while the patient cannot use or move the paralyzed limbs, yet suffers pain in them, seemed one day to doubt whether he did not mistake the sensation of numbness for pain; when he gently intimated to me that he had experienced pain enough in his life, to know what pain was.

I can remember and might here cite, many anecdotes of his secluded life in the hotel in Winchester, showing these bright gleams of the failing lamp of life, which made his sick room a place of pleasant sojourn; but I have already been too diffuse, and my apology is two-fold, first because I have not had time to condense but have written down just what comes into the memory; and that memory is governed by such a rush of feeling for fatherly kindness and benefit, bestowed from early infancy, that the restraints of prudence and even of good taste, perhaps, are carried away, as I open the doors of these old depositories of past events, long shut up, but not forgotten. I will therefore say no more of his five years of life but this. His constant companion, and sometimes for many solitary hours, his only companion, was a New Testament of large print—which he read over and over again—turning the leaves with the same hand that held it—it was his only book. The blessed, soul-sustaining faith which it

carries in its acceptance—however imperfect and weary and heavy laden the faculties of the humble believer—seemed to be as childlike and unpretending as it might have been at his mother's knee. Sixty years before, his sister, an experienced and devoted Christian, was perfectly satisfied that he was a sincere Christian man; and she could see, knowing him as she did, its heavenly lustre upon the fine gold of his natural goodness in the total childlike trust in the truth of his book, and his manifest eagerness to drink of that fountain of life. Her conversations with him were frequent and confidential, and she knew that the change was real, and radical. I have that old dog-eared copy—I prize it more than the watch in my pocket, left to me by him in his will, as a memorial; and which I have carried now for twenty-seven years—to remember him by.

In August, 1832, the Governor had been taken out to Jordan's Sulphur Springs a few miles northeast of Winchester. His sister, my mother, being in bad health, I had taken to the Bedford Springs in hopes of a change for the better in her health; as we were returning and near the junction of the road from the Springs with our road, we heard of his death on the day before (the 20th of August, 1832) at the Springs. His body was brought into town, and carried from the residence of my brother and mother, to the cemetery where his parents were buried. He was laid by the side of their graves, and those of his brother and other near relatives, and over him is a plain white marble slab, with the following inscription, which I caused to be graven on it.²

WHY HE NEVER MARRIED.

Governor Holmes was never married. He was always remarked upon as a lady's man—that is to say, no idle dangler, but one who placed a high value upon female society, and the friendship of intelligent women. There was in his intercourse with ladies, that which always won their good will, and decided approval. He had perhaps as many sincere friends among the accomplished and virtuous of the sex, as any man of the same standing in society. His manners were gentle and winning, his estimate of them, that of the preux chevalier; and his fondness for their society, very observable; and yet he never married.

²Not found with these papers.

The reason was known to very few. The entire history of the circumstances which caused him to live and die a single man, was known, perhaps but to two persons, besides himself; but I was one of the two, and learned it from the incautious way in which persons sometimes talk before children, without remembering how much more they can understand of a conversation than is supposed, and how their memory will retain words, that may be unintelligible to them at the time, but be subjected to the interpretation of their more matured minds, long after said.

Governor Holmes was in the days of his early manhood engaged to be married to a beautiful and engaging young lady, the protege of her aunt, the wife of one of the wealthiest gentlemen in Virginia. The young lady herself was not without fortune, but with no very large expectations. She was exceedingly beautiful, accomplished, and gentle in disposition, but perhaps wanting in self-reliance. These two young people were engaged to be married with the supposed approval of her guardians, when it was found that a son of her aunt and her cousin, was attached to her, and desirous of marrying her. How far the aunt had encouraged the engagement with David Holmes, I do not know, but she was fully apprised of it, and of the mutual attachment; but she naturally, perhaps, favored her son's pretensions; and such was the result of her influence that the young lady was married to her son. The lady who favored it and perhaps effected it, was of too high a character, to have used her influence as she did, if she had known the precise state of the feelings of the parties engaged. The union was not a happy one—though the world knew it not, nor was it followed by children. The lady herself was the confidential friend of the Governor's sister, my mother, and long years after, used so to speak of him, to her, as to show the depth of her feelings towards him. I do not know that they ever met afterwards. She was, even in an advanced period of her life, a beautiful woman, though apparently as fragile, as she was as pale, as a lily. This may seem to be a romantic story—I cannot help it—it is a true one, and I feel in relating it almost afraid to tell it, as I never dared to do in my uncle's lifetime. No one ever heard of it from him. In my after life my mother confirmed the recollections of my childhood about the matter, and always said, that she loved him, though with perfect innocence of heart, to the day of her death, and that her brother David never

would marry. All parties are now and have long been in their graves. The betrothed, the wedded couple, the sister confidante, and I only remain to tell of it, to show why a man so fitted for domestic and wedded life never married; and this I would not do if anyone could know, to whom I have referred.³

³ For details of Governor Holmes' life as Governor of Mississippi and United States Senator see *Encyclopedia of Mississippi History*, Vol. 1, pages 878-887.

REMINISCENCES OF THE CLOSING DAYS OF THE WAR OF SECESSION.

BY WILLIAM A. LOVE.

The mere mention of the War of 1861-1865 by an active participant is but a prelude to confessing that he is old, yes, as old in years as the Almanacs make him, and yet quite as young as he feels himself to be. So it is with somewhat of a pardonable pride that one gives way to a reminiscent mood and narrates his personal experience, for it may be the means of stimulating others to, figuratively speaking, "refill their pipes and show how fields were won," and thus furnish the future historian material for a later and perhaps truer history, for as has been truly said, in the death of every soldier, private though he be, there is buried some fact worthy of preservation.

The scenes to be described in this unpretentious sketch were not enacted at a time and under circumstances favorable for securing a prominent page in the annals of military history; in fact they are barely mentioned by some, and omitted entirely by other writers of prominence.

The army of Northern Virginia under General Lee was besieged in the trenches at Petersburg, Virginia. The army of Tennessee under General Johnston was in retreat from Atlanta, Georgia, presumably to re-enforce General Lee. And the Army of the Cumberland under General Sherman was making Hell and history in his ever memorable "march to the sea." General Forrest, who for the greater part of the war had proven a protection for northern Mississippi and Alabama, had just been promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general and placed in command of all the cavalry in the Department of Alabama, Mississippi and East Louisiana.

At that date, or immediately subsequent thereto, i. e., March 18, 1865, his several commands were stationed at or near West Point, Mississippi, his headquarters. On March 22 General Wilson of the Union army with 12,500 cavalry and 1500 infantry, started from Waterloo, Tennessee, on the Tennessee River, his objective point being Selma, Alabama, where was located the Confederate

arsenal and government stores. General Forrest, as soon as informed of this intended movement, began preparations to meet it by a rapid march in that direction with all his available forces. Leaving West Point, Mississippi, he in person passed through Pickensville, Alabama, and on March 29, reached the bridge over Sipsey River near Pleasant Ridge. There occurred on that day about noon, a tragic incident showing the hasty conclusion reached by General Forrest under provocation and consequent excitement.

As there has been much said, but little written, of that unfortunate tragedy, there is therefore great diversity of opinion as to the real facts in the case. Only one historian of the war, as the writer remembers, gives an account of it and that very briefly and superficially. As we understand it, the facts leading up to and including it are substantially these.

While not an eye-witness to what occurred on April 29 this impartial account is based upon personal observation made at 8 o'clock next morning, together with conversations and correspondence with various survivors of the campaign, and it is believed to be approximately correct. As this paper does not assume the dignity of history in its generally accepted terms, authorities are not cited, nor the names of principals and participants given for obvious reasons, and of the rank and file that day all except a small majority have answered the last roll call and entered the realm of everlasting peace.

"Where the war drums throb no longer
And the battle flags are furled."

As already stated, General Forrest was making a forced march to intercept General Wilson en route if possible with part of his command while the other was expected to occupy and make defensible the works in front of Selma. If successful in that, and General Wilson defeated, he probably would follow in the wake of General Sherman and if pursuit was determined upon, it might take General Forrest and his command beyond the bounds of his Department, perhaps ultimately to unite with General Johnston in the Carolinas, or General Lee in Virginia. The situation was freely discussed around the camp fires and none were ignorant of the dismal prospect at Petersburg and of the dire calamity that would follow General Lee's capitulation, or evacuation and retreat, which would prove only a disastrous prolongation of the unequal struggle.

It is not unreasonable then that dissatisfaction and discouragement prevailed and it was not unusual to hear the remarks, "I'm not going to cross the Alabama River," "There's no more use in fighting," "The jig's up boys." But there was nowhere any open revolt, or overt act of disloyalty displayed. On the contrary, the boys were ready for the fray whenever, or wherever it might be staged, and had General Forrest succeeded in getting all his command in front of General Wilson, there would have been fought then and there the greatest battle of modern times—and old Forrest would have won it! But like Lee at Gettysburg, he failed because he fought with a part and not all of his army. However, this is invading the field of speculation which is unpardonable even in a quasi historian. But, getting back to the narrative, at or very near the Sipsey Bridge, the provost guard arrested two men supposedly members of the command who were going in an opposite direction along the road, seemingly conscious of the privilege. Brought before the captain he glanced over the paper presented; and acting perhaps, without a thought of consequences, handed it back with the remark, "General Forrest is coming on just behind, show it to him." Passing on they soon met the General, who greeted them cordially, with "well boys, what is it you want?" Presenting the paper they had but a moment to wait, when the face of the General flushed and in a positive tone exclaimed, "This is a —— lie: The officer whose name is signed here is a hundred miles away and knows not a —— thing about this. You are deserting in the face of the enemy and you shall be punished." Turning to one of his staff officers, he ordered a detail of twenty men armed and equipped for duty. Other matters claiming his attention, he for a time seemed to forget this, but later inquired if the order was transmitted. The officer addressed replied, "No, General, I did not think you really meant it, I thought you only intended to scare them." "Yes, I did mean it," he said with great warmth. "These men are deserting and shall be made an example of." Standing erect and facing the General, the officer said with coolness and firmness, "General Forrest, you can send the order through another channel if you choose. These men are entitled to a fair and impartial trial, otherwise, I will have nothing whatever to do with the matter." It appears remarkable to say the least, that an officer so near General Forrest and one of his own selection should thus defiantly disobey a

direct order and thereby subject himself to a charge of insubordination with its attendant penalty. But when we consider the fact that it requires real men of the ranks, as well as officers of the line and staff to make and sustain a successful general, it can be understood why this breach of discipline was overlooked, or palliated.

General Forrest knew and appreciated the officer and realized that he could not dispense with his services without great loss to the cause, for which they both were giving unqualified support. Undaunted by this open resistance the prisoners were declared guilty and promptly executed. After General Hood's disastrous Tennessee campaign and during the retreat, he was forced by existing conditions to order General Forrest to "keep picked bodies of cavalry near at hand that they may be ready to pursue and capture any men that may desert the army. If the first party of deserters can be caught and promptly punished, it will perhaps deter others from doing the same."

Whether General Forrest had this in mind is of course, not known; the probabilities however, are that he acted upon his own initiative, considering it a military necessity. In either event it was an unlucky meeting, an unfortunate circumstance of war and perhaps not entirely justifiable under the peculiar conditions, for,

"Remember, caution is not fear, nor rashness valor's test;
If he who fights and dies does well, who fights and lives does best."

Enemies of General Forrest, influenced doubtless by rank partizanship growing out of the rivalries of war and post bellum occurrences even now claim that the men were executed by hanging. This is a vicious fabrication and unworthy of a moments consideration by fair minded men. This drastic military measure of course, had its effect, but the joyous spirit of soldier boys can only for a time be subdued, a suitable occasion never failing to give expression to sentiments otherwise dormant, as the following incident will illustrate.

The day after the execution, a courier, riding ahead of the column and alone, became weary and turning aside, tied his horse to the fence and stretching himself on the ground was soon asleep. Another courier soon came upon the scene and appreciating the situation, connecting the past and present, he took from his satchel a paper and with the stopper of his ink bottle wrote in large letters, "shot for desertion," and placed in upon the breast of the sleeper. Untie-

ing his horse, he led it with his own into the woods, then hiding himself nearby awaited developments. Soon the head of the column reached the spot and broke ranks together beside the prostrate form. Indignation and defiance were depicted in every face, threats and denunciations were heard all around the circle, but the climax was reached when an over-enraged comrade essaying to make a speech exclaimed, "General Forrest, or no General Forrest, this thing must stop," and suiting action to words clapped his hands together with such force as to make a report like that of a carbine. At this the sleeper awoke and seeing the placard and his assembled comrades looking on in blank astonishment he jumped to his feet and with drawn pistol and a deluge of profanity, threatened to blow hell out of the man that did it. Such is the changeable life of the young soldier, quick transition from the grave to the gay and always ready for a fight or a frolic.

Passing through Tuscaloosa on the morning of April 1, all was excitement and confusion, the enemy being expected hourly, yea, momentarily. Going down the broad tree lined street by the University, there came tripping down the walk to the stile from a two-story brick basement house on the right, a handsome young lady who inquired if the Yankees were coming, to which the encouraging reply was made with hat raised aloft at arms length, "A reconnaissance will now be made, and if found true as you fear, they shall be completely annihilated and driven back across the Tennessee River," or words to that effect. But at the fork of the road leading out east, a regiment of cavalry was stationed and the commanding officer who was at the only tent in camp inquired our destination and when told, "headed for Selma," he said, "the enemy is scouting all through the country to the east, and your capture will be certain if you attempt to get by them." While in conversation, or rather listening to his fatherly advice, for he seemed to be of mature years, and the wish has been often expressed that his name could be recalled, a courier came dashing up mounted on a fiery steed, and as remembered dressed in cadet, or Confederate uniform and with but one leg, and reported the enemy advancing. At once the order was given to "Saddle up," soon followed by that of "Fall in." To at once relieve a somewhat embarrassing situation, just before the command "Forward" was given, the anxious inquiry was made, "Colonel what are you going to

do with me?" to which he very cordially replied, "Why take you along my boy." We went several miles farther and not finding the enemy, returned and dismounted at camp. Bidding the Colonel farewell after receiving some precautionary advice, the ride was continued. All that afternoon and far into the night we were alone. The owners of the plantation had fled and in most instances their dwellings were closed, besides this, every one under such circumstances was considered a suspect and treated accordingly. While thus seeking a place to sleep, the hoofbeats of a horse were heard approaching at a gallop. Coming nearer and soon near, the usual challenge was given, "Halt." Obeying as quickly as possible the warning click of the carbine preceded the demand, "Who goes there?" "Courier with dispatch from General Forrest to General Jackson," "Pass Courier" and we parted, one to continue his tiresome ride, the other to seek a place to sleep, which he found. Another Courier, we conclude from comparing dates, with dispatches from General Forrest to General Jackson, outlining his plan of campaign, was captured. At once General McCook was detached from the army moving down on Selma and marched west and captured the bridge over the Cahawba River at Centerville, thus preventing General Jackson from crossing and thereby eliminating his division and artillery as factors in the impending fight at Selma.

General McCook not only drove off the guard at the bridge, but crossed over and felt for General Jackson. Finding him in force after a little brush he retired to the east side of the river and unwilling to take chances on an engagement, burned the bridge. Here on Sunday, April 2, 1865, occurred a little incident that emphasizes the statement that it is somewhat difficult for a soldier even after a lapse of half a century and more to lay exclusive claim to the performance of a daring deed or make a reconnaissance without sooner or later having them duplicated or greatly surpassed. This is not said in a spirit of sarcasm, or as a reflection upon the veracity or faulty recollections of soldiers generally, but seriously, and the following will bear out the contention in this one instance at least.

Being absent from my command, but with a written permit which allowed full liberty, on the march and elsewhere, it so happened that we fell in with a battalion of the 7th Tennessee Cavalry, Forrest's old regiment commanded by Colonel D. C. Kelly, which was halted in column in a deep worn sandy road with high stake and rider fences

on both sides. Curiosity rather than a definite purpose led me to climb from my horse to the top of the fence, and while standing on the top rail, a puff of smoke was seen and almost immediately the scream of a shell was heard overhead, and it seemed that every man who had noticed my position yelled in unison, "Come off," "Get down." "What in the hell are you doing up there," all of which suggestions and queries were entirely superfluous for, like Zaccheus of Biblical fame, haste was made to come down, but the incentive was altogether dissimilar. So for the past fifty years the belief has been entertained, if not to say cherished, that the boy on the fence furnished the target for the Union artillerymen, but now comes a member of the regiment just named who being on detached service, was sitting on his horse in rear of the position occupied by the regiment, and on an elevation fifty feet above the level of the road and says that same first shell fired passed within three feet of him and demoralized for a moment a whole regiment over the hill that were also at rest. It is therefore more than probable that it was the soldier boy on the hill rather than the one on the fence that drew the enemy's fire. Be that as it may, both were surprised and induced to change position *de bonne grace*.

If this sketch was intended for a military treatise, dealing in cause and effect, it would be a pardonable offense to go back a little just here. General Croxton was sent from Elyton to the westward as a protection to the right flank of General Wilson's army, and the day previous to the occurrence mentioned came into the road behind General Jackson's cavalry and between it and his artillery and wagon train. As soon as this was known General Jackson turned and offered battle, but General Croxton promptly retreated over the same road he came and thus relieved a very awkward situation. But General Jackson was detained which enabled General McCook as already stated, to capture the Centerville bridge.

General Croxton, after a detour to the north crossed the Warrior River and coming down on the west side captured the town of Tuscaloosa. Whether he had orders to burn the University of Alabama located there, or that it was in retaliation for being fired upon by the Cadet Corps of the Institution, is not known, but in either case, it was an unjustifiable act of war.

There has been much near history and far history written concerning the so-called "battle at the bridge" which spans the Warrior

River and connects the town of North Port and Tuscaloosa, between the Union forces and Cadet Corps commanded by the professors. Granting that the "Katydid," or Cadets, if the first term is objectionable, failed to hold the bridge, they at least made a masterly retreat and were not pursued. This of itself should count half a victory for General Lee was only pursued in a half-hearted way on his retreat from Gettysburg.

Leaving Tuscaloosa some of General Croxton's forces passed to the southwest through Pickens County. While at the Sipsey Mill bridge previously mentioned, General Wirt Adams' command coming from the north overtook the rear guard and after some time consumed in "closing up" a sharp attack was made which developed into a running fight which lasted until 8 o'clock that night. General Croxton here repeated his retreating tactics which took him back to Tuscaloosa. He halted long enough, however, to form an ambuscade the springing of which resulted in the killing of the captain and two men of General Adams' leading company. His own loss was two officers and thirty men, two ambulances, one containing his personal effects including his dress uniform. During one of the many melees occurring that afternoon a Union major became unhorsed and unable to catch a remount, or keep pace with the retreating column, took to the woods afoot and alone. After comparative quiet was restored, an old farmer of the neighborhood appeared and learning of the escape, or "runaway" employing the vernacular of the country in the ante bellum period, he determined at once to capture him upon his own initiative. Returning home he took down his hunting horn, one blast of which if not worth a thousand men, at least assembled his pack of hounds. Reaching the late field of action he struck a hot trail and soon had the major treed. Tradition has not preserved the exact language vociferated during the progress of capitulation, but it is safe to imagine that it was not modish, or at all conciliatory in character. The major's strenuous protest was not so much against the necessity of unconditional surrender, but the humiliation of being barked at by "nigger-dogs." But, returning from this digression, on the day that General McCook was holding back General Jackson at the Centerville Bridge, i. e., April 2, General Wilson's forces were encompassing the fortifications at Selma. Having at hand a diagram of the works together with overwhelming numbers, it was comparatively easy to flank and drive out General Forrest, although every precaution

had been taken, even to ordering every man regardless of person or position to fight *or go into the river*, thus duplicating General Jackson's order at New Orleans fifty years before. Undaunted in the very face of disaster the "Wizard of the saddle" fought this last battle with the same determination that made him famous on other fields.

"Though the Gray were outnumbered he counted no odd,
But fought like a demon and struck like a god.
With a hundred he charged like a thousand men,
And the hoofbeats of one seemed the tattoo of ten."

In fighting his way out, he killed a Union soldier, thus rounding out an even thirty men that fell before his pistols and sword since his first fight in 1861. Adding to this the twenty-nine horses killed under him makes a record unsurpassed by any man or officer during the four years of war.

General Richard Taylor, commanding the Department was in Selma at this time and realizing the dangerous situation hurriedly escaped on a railroad engine and lived to write a book entitled, *Destruction and Reconstruction*, wherein he severely criticises General R. E. Lee's most trusted and congenial corps commander as being *slow* and deficient in perception.

On April 3, the day following that of the burning of the Centerville bridge, we fell in with two of Harvey's scouts who were of detail serving temporarily under General Jackson and scouted through to Marion where we reported for duty. Most of General Forrest's command after the battle of Selma were camped there. The retreat of the Cadets from the University also ended there, thus giving spice and variety to the dress and personnel of the camp.

Later we moved up to Livingston and remained there for perhaps two weeks. General Taylor having surrendered his Department on May 4, it only remained for General Forrest to rendezvous his cavalry at Gainesville for parole. His command embraced troops from Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama and Texas, all of which were encamped at or near Gainesville for several days awaiting the making out of the Muster Rolls, covering a period of from May 10 to 15, 1865.

The writer, prior to receiving his parole was detailed to guard the arms and stores of the regiment to a cotton warehouse in Gainesville and has been claiming some little distinction for this last service,

but now comes one of another company who says he stood guard at the warehouse that night. So another honor is partially eclipsed.

Concluding with an explanation and apology, it is deemed proper to say that the term "soldier boys" appearing in the foregoing disconnected sketch is not employed as a convenient poetical phrase, but rather in a true and literal sense as the following statement will attest. Our Company, H, 6th Mississippi Regiment of Cavalry when mustering its full strength numbered one hundred men rank and file, seventy of whom were under twenty years of age, and their average age a little over eighteen years, which forcibly illustrates the military demands of the South in the liberal use of what President Davis correctly described as the "Seed corn of the Confederacy."

In the cavalry, as perhaps in other arms of the service, the Westminster catechism had no place in tactics or regulation, and the generals themselves frequently under strong provocation violated some of its provisions, thereby setting examples to be avoided rather than followed. But as a off-set and possibly redeeming quality it is related of an old comrade after the war being asked to take a hand at cards, declined. "Strange," said his companion, "you, once a soldier and don't know cards." "Yes, said he, but I was with old Forrest, and he was either whipping the Yankees or hunting for them, so I didn't have time to learn—and I don't regret it, for cards are an idle or lazy man's game anyway."

The popularity of the recently adopted slogan "made in Mississippi" recalls the fact that the material for the suit worn by the writer was grown on the farm; the wool having been shorn, carded, spun, dyed and wove, and the cloth cut, fitted and made all at home. The hat, boots and spurs were also Mississippi made—the only contribution to the outfit by the Confederacy being the brass buttons and they were "hand downs," some of which had seen service at Gettysburg, Sharpsburg and Petersburg. This statement is here recorded in commemoration of the undying love, devotion and self sacrifice of the sainted mothers of the South who have all passed to the other side, and

"Over the river we are nearing,
They are thronging to the shore,
To shout our safe arrival,
Where the weary weep no more."

ROUTE OF DE SOTO'S EXPEDITION THROUGH LOWNDES COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI.

BY WILLIAM A. LOVE.

It may be considered by some as an act bordering on presumption to attempt at this late day to add important facts or present valuable deductions from accounts of the chroniclers of De Soto's expedition. But when we take into consideration that the first hand records have all been translated into English and are accessible to the general public, it is not at all unreasonable to suppose that they are being read, and by some made the subject of critical study.

It is a mistake to imagine that it requires a genius, or one possessed of a specially finished educational training to be an investigator of De Soto's route. Any serious minded reader of average intelligence is apt to receive at least some impression, if not the formation of definite conclusions concerning any subject under investigation even though it be of events transpiring at a period far antedating the present. Otherwise, ancient history both sacred and profane, would have become closed books, so to speak, to a large class of readers. As well attempt to turn back the tide, or retard the march of time itself as to stop investigation. "What is written is written," it is true, but what is written is also subject to review and criticism, and where it contains errors they will be sooner or later discovered and corrected. This applies to all writers, great and small. As a preliminary to this brief discussion we shall consider the De Soto chroniclers themselves, namely: The Gentleman of Elvas.

His account was first published in 1557, then followed other reprints and translations both in French and English, the latest being by Buckingham Smith in 1866.

Garcillaso De La Vega was born in Spain but lived for a time in Guatemala and Peru. Although a prolific writer, only his history of De Soto published at Lisbon in 1605 will be here considered. He was not a participant in the expedition, but bases his story principally upon the authority of two private soldiers of the army. His only English translation is by Bernard Shipp published in Philadelphia in 1881.

Lays Hernandez De Biedma was Factor or Commissary, for the expedition and wrote his narrative after reaching Mexico, which was presented to the King of the Indies in 1544. The first English translation was by B. F. French in 1850. Buckingham Smith also made a translation which was published in 1866.

Rodrigo Ranjel was Private Secretary to De Soto and kept a diary of the march, and on reaching Mexico made an official report for the Spanish government. In addition to these, in the main, first hand accounts it is deemed appropriate to mention some of the principal commentators on what is generally considered not only the first real exploration, but the greatest of the Southern States. No attempt is made to give the order in which they appear, nor will they be specially referred to only as bearing upon a certain restricted portion of the De Soto route, as already indicated: Dr. Edward Gaylor Bourne of Yale College, George Bancroft, Theodore Irving, John Gilmory Shea and Ramsey of Tennessee, Pickett of Alabama and Claiborne of Mississippi and others. So from this array of literary and historic talent, it is evident that De Soto's expedition has been for a long period a popular and prolific theme and the end is not yet.

The recent appearance in the Mississippi Historical Society's Publications, Vol. VI, of an article by Dr. Theodore Hays Lewis on "The Chroniclers of De Soto's Expedition" has awakened new interest in the subject. Among others to examine critically this valuable contribution was the late Prof. H. S. Halbert, for years an enthusiastic though painstaking student of De Soto. Having been for sometime past an employee in the Department of Archives and History of Alabama, he had ample opportunity for thorough examination of all the authorities. In a letter he says: "I have read closely every word written by the Chroniclers."

Later he conceived the idea of writing an article on De Soto's route from Coosa Town in Alabama to Chisca Town in Mississippi, and aware of the fact that the writer is somewhat familiar with the topography of Lowndes County, Mississippi, as well as of traditional roads and river crossings, he solicited aid in the way of information in these particulars. So after an extended correspondence in which a free and full exchange of views was given, it was finally decided that both should prepare papers, he to receive credit for the general route as above stated, and in return to give like credit for whatever

material used concerning the route in Lowndes County—a kind of reciprocal courtesy.

In accordance with this agreement the work began. But man proposes—before the papers were ready for the press, he was called to that realm from which no traveler returns, thus depriving the State of his birth, Alabama and the State of his adoption, Mississippi, and indeed the whole South of further contributions to their history from his accurate and untiring pen. What became of this, perhaps his last paper, is not known to the writer. Repeated inquiries have failed to elicit any information as to its existence or location. But judging from his well known readiness to advise and co-operate in every endeavor looking to the preparation and preservation of Southern history, he would doubtless sanction even this belated and unassuming effort in that direction.

Following up the conclusions then of several of the investigators of De Soto's route, we find him and his army at the present Alabama-Mississippi line dividing the Counties of Pickens and Lowndes on December 11, 1540, at a point six miles west of old Yorkville, now Ethelville in the former and ten miles east of Columbus in the latter. This paper starts out with the assumption that De Soto's route lay through Lowndes County. The present purpose then is to suggest, in the light of personal knowledge of the topography the most practical and therefore the most probable route traveled.

The distinction of living in the first county in Mississippi on which De Soto's army placed foot, is not lightly esteemed, but local pride and simple pride of opinion have no rightful place in real history, for they will not stand the test of time.

We commence now our investigation, first by laying down as a predicate that if there is one thing that is perfectly clear it is that De Soto, as well as other explorers in their marches traveled along Indian trails. And second, that the territory through which he passed was not a trackless forest, but traversed by main trails and many cross trails, so one could travel throughout the country by following these trails. Any investigator then who places De Soto and his army in a buffalo path through a canebrake in Lowndes County in December hunting for a ford for his pigs, is evidently historically lost.

There are three of these main traditional trails that traverse Lowndes County. First, and perhaps the better known in aboriginal

times, was one leading from the Choctaw towns in lower Pickens County, Alabama and further south to Cotton Gin Port on the Tombigbee River. Next was the trail from the Tennessee River to the lower Choctaw settlement in Mississippi, which later become the basis of the Jackson Military Road and is now an improved highway bearing that name. And last the main trail leading from the Chickasaw Nation southeast to the Choctaws and Creeks on the lower Tombigbee.

We shall now consider the first mentioned trail as the probable route traveled by De Soto. The first evidence to support this contention is that his army was then actually on a main trail leading north, the direction he wished to go, and that he had as a guide and interpreter the chief of the town of Apafallaya which suggests that he was on familiar ground, perhaps had often traveled the trail in intertribal communication. And it was certainly to his interest to keep in the middle of the road for thereby he was ridding his people of an unwelcomed guest. Besides had he lost the army in a canebrake, he himself would very likely have been lost permanently. Thus far we have refrained from quoting directly from the chroniclers, but it seems appropriate just here to say that Rodrigo Ranjel, De Soto's Secretary, who was always at the front and the Knight of Elvas, who accompanied the expedition, both state that the Spaniards spent December 16 and 17 in crossing the river. Now the question naturally arises, could the army have covered the distance from the point of location on the 11th instant, to Cotton Gin Port within the five or six days intervening. From a map before me, the distance is estimated at approximately forty miles, giving an average of seven or eight miles per day. This is a fair and reasonable estimate of travel in view of the fact that two rivers, the Luxapalila and Buttahatchie were crossed, and a large drove of hogs had to be herded and probably ferried over together with the baggage and commissary stores. The presence of this large number of hogs while regulating largely the rate of travel, seems to have been overlooked altogether by some commentators and only slightly mentioned by others.

Returning from this brief exemplification of a phase of the subject, we find the army of exploration in Lowndes County on a well-known trail with a competent guide and ready to march; its objective point being the Chickasaw towns in Pontotoc County at or near the present

Red Land. Passing over a gently undulating country for say, six miles to the north, the Luxapallila River is reached at a point locally known as the Reuben Sanders Ford and Mill, one and a half miles below the influx of it and Yellow Creek. The first sight to attract the eye of an observant person is an Indian village site whose limits are indicated by the appearance of a black loamy soil intermixed with fragments of the various shells indigenous to this section and the customary pottery and flints—and not to be omitted the ever present walnut and persimmon trees. From this broad table land, the descent to the river bed is through a deep cut, perhaps fifteen feet wide and ten feet deep, testifying conclusively to its long and continuous use. The river here is fordable in summer and never wide even in flood time.

After leaving the river still in a northern direction about one mile, an intersection is made almost at right angles with the old Indian trail, then the Jackson Military road, now the improved Jackson Highway from Nashville to New Orleans at a point known as Bennet Place. Crossing this the trail led in a northern course for five miles to a most prominent antiquity known as the Neilson mound. This is situated in a level field and is oblong in form, with basal diameter, eighty by one hundred feet and ten feet high. Near by is a large village site so easily recognizable; and at a short distance away is a bold spring at which no doubt some of the steel clad knights quenched their thirst with unaffected relish and enjoyed some witty remarks about the natives.

De Soto, not unlike his predecessor in former explorations, Hernando Cortez, was a many sided man and what the poet said of one is applicable to the other:

. . . . "He was one in whom Adventure and endurance and emprise
Exalted the mind's faculties, and strung the body's sinues.
Brave he was in fight, courteous in banquet, scornful of repose,
And bountiful, and cruel, and devout."

So as his eye rested upon this imposing mound and the surrounding primeval scenery, we can imagine that his better self for a time held sway and in a contemplative mood he entertained in silence what the poet Bryant afterwards so beautifully expressed in verses and that has come quietly down the years so little known and as little appreciated.

“Are they here—
The dead of other days?—And did the dust
Of these fair solitudes once stir with life,
And burn with passion? Let the mighty mounds
that overlook the rivers, or that rise
In the dim forest, crowded with old oaks
Answer.”

But the order of march is given and the divisions resume their places in line and onward go still to the northward. Five miles only is traversed and the beautiful Buttahatchie is before them. This locality is known as the Nickles and Shedd Mill place. Just below the mill was a ford in low water and at other times a ferry. Today at a point still lower down is a steel bridge, this like the Luxapalila crossing was well known in pioneer days and doubtless existed even in pre-Columbian days. Here too, the village site is in evidence and within very recent years a collector could find many fine specimens of handiwork of the archeological age. In addition to this main village there are others near by in which are small circular mounds. On the opposite, or northern side of the river are two other mounds. This, however, is in Monroe County, the historical preserve of that elegant gentleman and popular writer the Hon. Geo. J. Leftwich, of Aberdeen, who has contributed much to Mississippi's history, legislation and jurisprudence. Having preempted the subject, it is presumed that he will grant us the right of way. Lack of personal knowledge concerning the topography of that part of the country prevents any direct statement, but the impression is that it is high and dry land, similar to that already described. If so, the advance division of De Soto's army could have easily reached Cotton Gin Port by December 16.

Now to strengthen the contention that the route just described is the actual one traveled by De Soto, it will not be amiss to go somewhat beyond the scope indicated by the title of this paper. According to the chroniclers, De Soto crossed the river on December 16 and with a small party of horsemen made a forced march to Chicasa, arriving late at night. This was one of the several towns near the present Red Land in Pontotoc County, the one of course, nearest the river, twenty-eight miles away.

On December 17, another party of horsemen arrived and it was perhaps the next day before the remainder of the army, the infantry, baggage-carriers and hogs arrived.

Leaving De Soto and his army now quartered in the Chickasaw towns, we return to Lowndes County to describe the last mentioned prehistoric trail, namely, the Chickasaw, leading to the southeast. That part as far as Waverly on the Tombigbee River, is alluded to by many writers, some of recent date, but none have given a satisfactory account of it beyond that point. Some claim that it crossed the Tombigbee there. This is a mistake, and one violating every historic probability. Of course, there may have been and is today, a ford there in time of very dry weather, but that is not an evidence that the trail crossed there. The facts are these:

The real Chickasaw trail on reaching Waverly kept down the west side of the Tombigbee River, crossing Tibbee Creek and passing in succession Old Plymouth and the several village sites indicated on the map, until the large Butler mound at the head of Ten Mile Shoal is reached where it crossed to the east side and thence on by several small mounds; and last the noted Coleman mound, the largest in northeast Mississippi and on into Alabama. Of this prehistoric road, the following quotation is from an article by the late Prof. H. S. Halbert in *The Independent*, a newspaper of Columbus, Mississippi, bearing date April 7, 1877:

"On March 30 last while visiting a relative, Mr. Zenophon Halbert, I was informed by him of an ancient road on the east side of the Tombigbee River. He and I made a thorough exploration of this interesting relic of prehistoric times. For nearly a mile, except at rare intervals, we could clearly trace the windings of this ancient road through the unbroken forest. Its general course is north-west and south-east. Whenever the surface of the country is undulating, up and down the slopes, the road is worn down a foot deep and even on level ground, it is in many places eight inches in depth. In several places we noticed large oak trees, the growth of centuries, standing in the worn surface of the road. One large white oak we noticed particularly fully four feet in diameter, standing in the very center of the track. The road from this place points in the direction of a large artificial mound in the south-east about half a mile distant known as the Coleman Mound. It is about twenty feet high, about one hundred feet in diameter at its base, and very symmetrical in its shape. Forty years ago, as we are creditably informed, its summit was covered with large trees which have long since been destroyed. (At present a dwelling and the usual number of out houses occupy the summit of the Mound, and the same can be said of the Butler Mound.) Mr. Zenophon Halbert, Sr., was one of the first settlers of this part of Lowndes County, he having come in 1818. According to his statement, this road even then had all the marks of extreme antiquity. He had frequently questioned the Indians about it, but they knew nothing whatever of its history. Taking the Mound as a starting point, the road ran in a northwestern direction about two and a half miles until it struck the Tombigbee at the head of Ten Mile Shoals. On the opposite bank of the river, the road made its reappearance stretching northward through the Butler plantation. The head of these Shoals was evidently the fording place of the way-farers of this ancient highway. From the Mound the road led for miles to the southeast."

These mounds were minutely described by Clarence B. Moore of the Academy of Natural Science, Philadelphia, in 1901, but we are now considering history, not archeology.

Returning again to the main subject, it may prove of some interest if not importance to mention some supposed relics of the De Soto expedition. Any student of early Southern history is aware of the fact that the Choctaws had many dealings with the Spaniards at Mobile and Pensacola, and thereby came into possession of many articles that might now be considered as relics. But the first find to mention hardly belongs to this large and varied class. The facts as stated are these: After a severe rain and wind storm that passed over old Yorkville, now Ethelville, Alabama, in 1855, a supposed cannon ball was found imbedded in the upturned root of a prostrated chestnut tree in the yard of the late Dr. J. W. W. Payne. The party giving this information was of the opinion that it was the pea or weight of a pair of steelyards. Granting that it was the size and shape of a cannon ball, a careful examination would have shown evidence of a projection or indentation whereby it could be used on the steelyard beam. The earliest settlers in that section came in 1818. The unsolved mystery is how it, within those thirty-seven years, granting that it was lost on the arrival of its owner, could become imbedded under the roots of that chestnut tree. If a relic of Bienville's Cotton Gin Port Fort, 1736, the contention that Yorkville is on the trail is supported thereby.

De Soto, as investigators will recall, had but one cannon, which proving valueless was abandoned somewhere in East Georgia and the last of his powder was used in the battle of Maubila. So he was not thereafter armed with "thunder and lightning" as some inaccurate historians state. The question arises just here: Did he continue to transport the cannon balls and guns—arquebuses.

The Spaniards had a forge with them and they were very careful of all their iron, and perhaps had occasion to use these cannon balls as well as parts of their useless small arms, for it is stated that they made all their iron stirrups into nails to be used in making the brigantines on the Mississippi River for shipping themselves out of this country.

So the reader can form his own conclusions as to whether the Yorkville "find" is a De Soto or early Alabama pioneer relic. The

next to be considered is a Spanish halberd which was found several years ago a few miles from the Luxapalila crossing. It was shown to a reputable blacksmith, who pronounced it of the finest steel. Drawings were sent several De Soto investigators and without exception they said it was a halberd of the kind used in that day. Some contend, however, that being a surface find, it is not a genuine De Soto. This is not at all conclusive, for it may have remained imbedded for centuries and then been unearthed and later kept for a time and then lost. To illustrate: the finest celt and the largest ever seen in this section was found near the surface in the open prairie miles from any known Indian habitation, but immediately in the track of the Jackson Military Road, and was evidently lost there by some traveler and there remained until unearthed by the farmer's plowshare.

In justice to readers holding the Claiborne theory of De Soto's route through Lowndes County, we submit these objections: The old Erie crossing was fordable, not a "deep broad river." The distance to Columbus, Mississippi, is about eighty-five miles, too great a distance to be covered within five days by an army of sick and wounded soldiers, heavy laden baggage carriers, prisoners, many of them chained together, and droves of hogs. Then the physical obstacles encountered, the sluggish Sipsey with its broad swamp and dense canebrake; the Lubbub, Cold Fire and Magbee Creek, and last Luxapalila River, meaning in fact a crossing for each day's march, and yet an average of seventeen miles per day is said to have been made. The Lincecum Shoal was hardly fordable at that season, and was not a Choctaw crossing, as it led west into Chickasaw territory and had no connection with Buttahatchie River and its gravel discharge which is ten miles above. The sixty-five miles to Red Land could not have been made in one day by De Soto and his horsemen, even "*arriving late at night*," nor could the army have made it in *four* days over the muddy prairie lands of Lowndes, Clay and Chickasaw counties.

With this we leave the reader to form his conclusions, conscious of having made an honest attempt to add something to our local history, and as illustrating the Biblical assertion that "Faith without works is dead," we contemplate placing a modest marker at the intersection of the De Soto Route and Jackson Highway with inscription in harmony with the foregoing presentation of the subject.

TRUE HISTORY OF INCORPORATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL
INSTITUTE AND COLLEGE, LOCATED AT COLUMBUS,
MISSISSIPPI.¹

BY HON. J. MCC. MARTIN.

Mrs. Peyton of Copiah County had been writing a number of letters in the Jackson *Clarion* favoring the creation of a college for young ladies in the State similar to the University of Mississippi for young men. She wrote over the name "Mississippi Woman." Prior to the date of the Act creating the Industrial Institute and College, Senator Reuben O. Reynolds had introduced in the State Senate a bill incorporating her views. This bill was defeated. She, however, persevering sought to have co-education made effective at the University of Mississippi and Colonel Reynolds was doing what he could to secure recognition of such at Oxford through legislation.

Meanwhile Mrs. Olivia Hastings of Claiborne County had been writing a series of articles in the Jackson *Clarion* favoring industrial education for women in Mississippi. She wrote over the name "Olive."

The articles written by the two ladies above named attracted my attention and each of such articles was carefully read by me. Meanwhile a copy of *Harper's Magazine* fell into my hands, giving a full account of Cooper's Union located in the State of New York. As is well known, this institution conducted a system of industrial education. The article was full and gave glowing accounts of what was being accomplished by the Cooper benefaction. After reading the *Harper's Magazine* article I commenced correspondence at Washington to secure information touching industrial education in the United States and on the European Continent. This resulted in bringing to me a great many circulars from the Department at Washington having such matter in charge. Much valuable information was acquired from this source and thus a very wide field for information was opened.

¹ Since this paper was written the name of the institution has been changed to Mississippi State College for Women.

As was the case with members of the legislature, every Saturday evening to go home, I returned to my home at Port Gibson. On my way to the depot I overtook Colonel John G. Hastings, the husband of Mrs. Olivia Hastings, and dropped into conversation with him touching the articles being written by "Olive" and regularly published in the Jackson *Clarion*. I went over the Peter Cooper article in *Harper's Magazine* with him and also referred to the information derived from Washington through the papers that had been sent to me from the Department there. I asked him if I understood correctly his wife to mean that she favored the opening of a wide field for industrial education for young women in Mississippi along with a college education; he replied that he believed she did and suggested that I spend a day at his wife's home on my way back to Jackson the following Monday. This I agreed to do and did spend the day at the home of Colonel John G. Hastings near Hermanville in the County of Claiborne the following Monday. Taking with me legal cap paper, I asked Mrs. Olivia Hastings to furnish me with a table, pen and ink in her parlor or sitting room. This was done and I made the first draft of the bill creating the Industrial Institute and College in her parlor or sitting room near the villages of Hermanville and St. Elmo. Her home was situated on that part of the old "Hopewell" plantation which formerly belonged to the McCalebs in Claiborne County. After drafting the bill, I read it over carefully to Mrs. Hastings, asked her if it met what she had in her mind regarding industrial education for women and she replied:

"It is far more comprehensive and complete than anything I have ever thought upon—it not only fully meets what I have in my mind but I believe it will prove of incalculable value to the young women of Mississippi and likely to become a model for similar institutions in other states."

That evening I returned to Jackson and next day, going into the old law library in the old capital, reformed the bill only so far as providing for the directors of the College. As the machinery of the Agricultural and Mechanical College at Starkville had been tried, I incorporated that part into the Act creating the Industrial Institute and College. The original draft provided that the College should be located as nearly as possible in the center of the State. This provision was stricken from the bill upon motion by the senator from Attala County. The moment the motion was made, as author of the bill I accepted it, saying "The substance was sought, not shadows."

At the time the bill was prepared it so happened that the list of counties was being called for the introduction of local bills. The county of Claiborne had been called the preceding Saturday: the county of Jefferson had not been reached. I requested Senator J. J. Whitney of Jefferson County to claim the privilege of so doing and to introduce for me the bill I had prepared looking to the creation of the Industrial Institute and College. I said to him that I would like for him to have it referred to the Committee of which I was chairman so that it might be speedily reported from committee. This was done—the bill was speedily reported back with a favorable report. A day was set for the hearing of the bill in the Senate. On the day set Mrs. Jennie Morancy, then State Librarian, filled the senate chamber with young ladies and married ladies, most of whom lived in Jackson with a good, large number from other places in the State. After protracted debate, Senator Reuben O. Reynolds opposing the bill as an experiment, it passed the Senate by a majority of two votes. A motion was at once made to reconsider and table so as to get the bill promptly to the House of Representatives.

In the House of Representatives the bill was opposed chiefly by Mr. Orr from Chickasaw County, he being a son of Judge Orr of Lowndes County. Bishop Galloway was opposed to the bill and sat by the side of Mr. Orr during the debate. The friends of the bill were chiefly Judge E. O. Sykes of Aberdeen, Wiley N. Nash of Starkville, James T. Harrison of Lowndes and General T. M. Miller of Warren County, each of whom made strong speeches in its behalf.

The bill passed the House on as close a vote as it passed the Senate, there being only two majority. It was sent promptly to the Engrossing Committee and taken to Governor Lowry who approved it. Thus the bill became law and thus the State gave to its daughters the institution now located at Columbus, Mississippi.

It would be proper to state here that Bishop Galloway and Senator Reuben O. Reynolds became steadfast friends of the Industrial Institute and College, the former being appointed one of the trustees of the College and serving as such for a number of years. He also delivered a magnificent commencement sermon on one of the commencement days at the College. Senator Reynolds stated to me that the College was a success and stated that his forecast was not realized that it had passed from the experimental stage to that stage where it

had become the model for colleges of like character. The sister of Mr. Orr of Chickasaw County, who opposed the passage of the bill in the House of Representatives, became one of the leading and most distinguished members of its splendid corps of teachers. Judge Orr was from the start actively the friend of the College and in conjunction with Senator Sykes of Columbus and Representative Buck Humphries along with Lieutenant-Governor James T. Harrison, was instrumental in securing to the State the elegant grounds on which the College is located along with the donation of some forty thousand dollars from the City of Columbus to the institution.

The writer became one of the directors or trustees of the College and remained so for about ten years. The minutes of the Board of Directors or Trustees, during the formative period of the College, are replete with measures adopted to bring it up to that standard which, in later years, has made it the leading institution for the education of young ladies industrially in the Union of States.

A young lady photographer at Port Gibson has made photographs of the old Hastings home on the Hopewell plantation. They are three in number: one shows the exterior view of the building and grounds as they looked at the time of taking the picture; one shows the interior view generally of the building; and the third is a flash light picture showing the room in which the bill creating the College was drafted. The three above named pictures will either be sent to Hon. Dunbar Rowland or will be handed to him by the bearer of this article. A duplicate of these pictures is designed for the President of the Industrial Institute and College and will be sent to him for a suitable historical place in that institution. It would be well indeed if representatives of the two literary societies could visit the old Hastings home and in some way commemorate the spot, if not to preserve the building from the ruin and decay into which it is rapidly falling.

This article is simply written in the interest of truth and to preserve a historical fact.

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